

IN THESE TIMES

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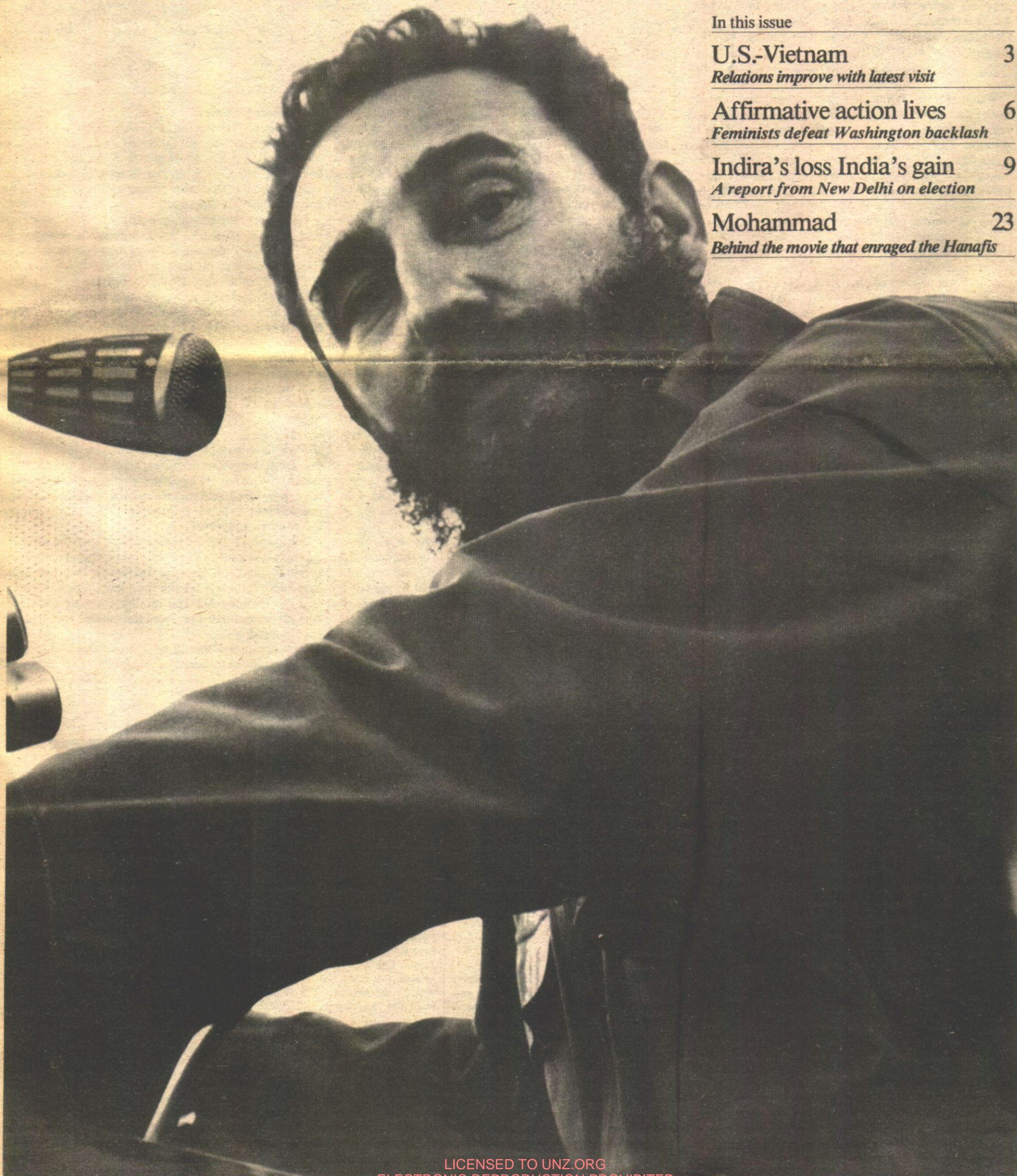
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CUBA: A SPECIAL REPORT

Saul Landau on U.S.-Cuba relations, page 13! Max Gordon on elections in Cuba, page 12.

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

Candy is dandy but saccharin may kill you

Harvey Wiley: "...everyone who eats these products is deceived, believing he is eating sugar, and moreover his health is threatened by this drug!"

Theodore Roosevelt: "Anyone who says saccharin is injurious is an idiot!"

—Exchange at a White House conference in 1908

When Harvey Wiley, the leading proponent of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 and Theodore Roosevelt's appointee to head the Board of Food and Drug Inspection, attacked the use of saccharin, Roosevelt called a conference to oppose him and appointed a commission, headed by the discoverer of saccharin, to investigate its harmfulness. He also proceeded to screen further appointees to the Board for their views on corn syrup, saccharin, and French vinegar.

But the commission's favorable report, submitted in 1910, did not remove the suspicions among scientists about saccharin's harmfulness. Sixty-seven years later, on the basis of a Canadian government study linking saccharin with bladder cancer in rats, the Food and Drug Administration invoked the Delaney Act, which bans as a food additive any substance "found to induce cancer when ingested by man or animal."

Politicians, dieters, diabetics, members of the food industry and some scientists and doctors have bitterly opposed the FDA's ruling, questioning both its scientific and legal merits. Robert M. Kellen of the Calorie Control Council called the decision "an example of colossal government overregulation in disregard of science and the needs and wants of consumers."

Testifying before a congressional hearing called by Rep. Paul Rogers (D-Fla.), Guy Newell, the acting director of the National Cancer Institute, said, "We do not believe saccharin is a potent carcinogen for humans, if it is one at all."

►800 cans a day.

The Canadian study found that when 100 rats and their 100 offspring were fed a diet of five percent saccharin, three of the first 100 and 14 of their offspring contracted bladder cancer. Extrapolating from these results, the scientists estimated that from 400 to 600 Americans would yearly contract bladder cancer from their use of saccharin.

Opponents of the ban center their attack on whether what was bad for the rats would also be bad for humans. One prominent scientist told *IN THESE TIMES* that he thought the final conclusions were "premature" and suggested that a statistical study of human population should be the next step.

Opponents also question the size of the dosage given to the rats, estimated to be the equivalent of about 800 cans a day of diet soda. "My calculation is that a consumption rate of about 800 cans a day is therefore dangerous," Rep. James G. Martin (R-N.C.) remarked sarcastically in a letter to Congress.

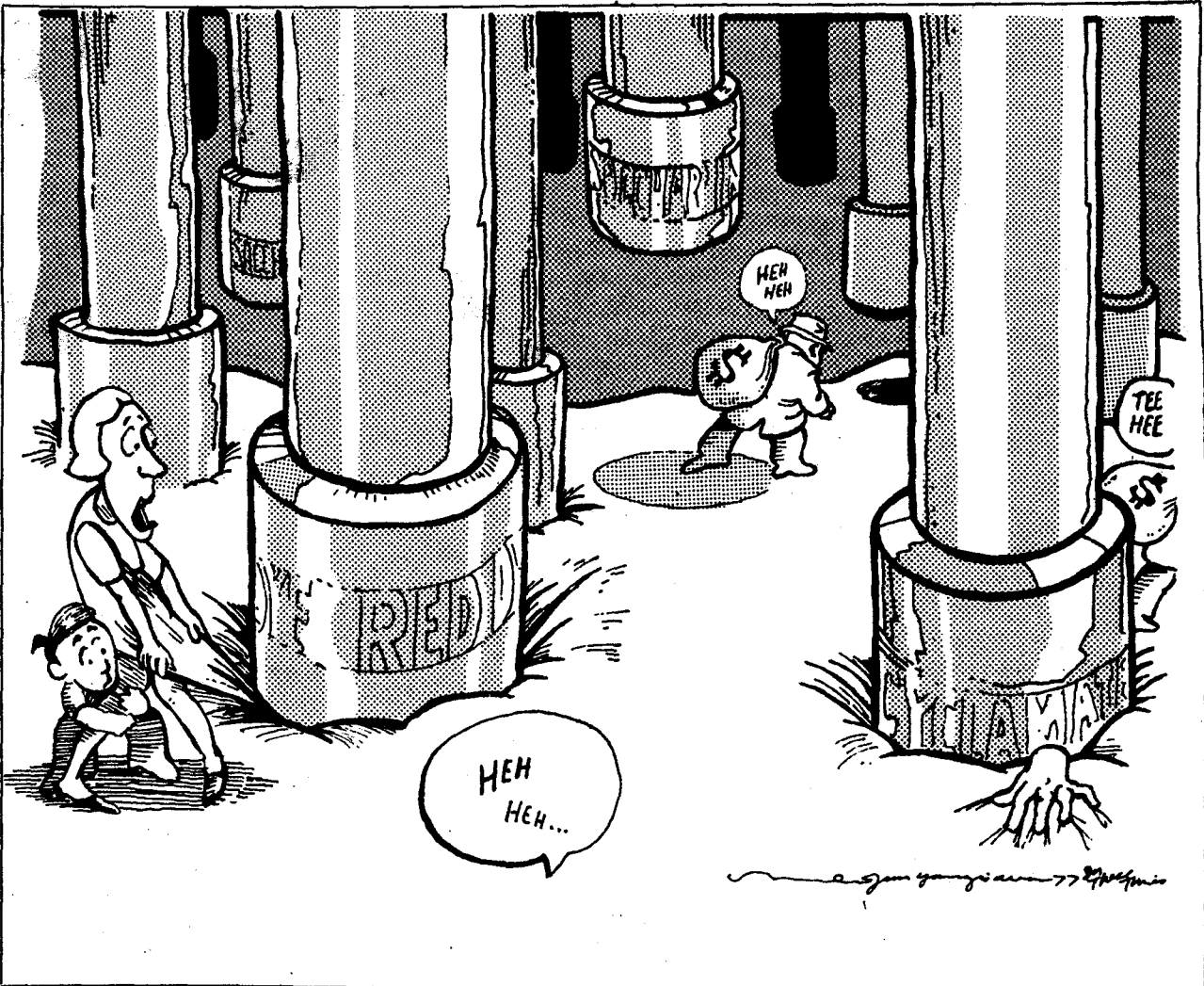
In addition, opponents have cited a number of studies that they think challenge the Canadian conclusions. In his testimony before the Rogers committee, NCI director Newell cited a recent Buffalo study that showed no incidence of cancer among monkeys given regular saccharin doses.

The opponents argue that given the very slight proven risks of cancer from saccharin usage, its benefits to diabetics and dieters outweigh its risks. "I think the risks of denying saccharin are far greater than the risks of providing it," Rep. Martin concludes.

►A necessary and inevitable decision.

But other prominent scientists and politicians, including Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wisc.), ecologist Barry Commoner, and specialist in environmental medicine Samuel Epstein, have vigorously defended the FDA's ruling, as have consumer health groups. Anita Johnson of the Nader Health Research Group told *IN THESE TIMES* that she thought the saccharin ban was "necessary and inevitable."

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The proponents of the ban argue that it could not be tested on the human population. "In spite of the limitations of animal tests, they offer the only possible method for detecting or predicting carcinogenic effects," Epstein argued in a recent *Newsday* article. ex-FDA head Alexander Schmidt, who has supported some modification of the Delaney Act, nevertheless defended the Canadian study. Schmidt sees no alternative to animal studies. "Epidemiological studies are not finetuned enough," he told *IN THESE TIMES*.

Given the necessity of using animal subjects, laboratory rats are thought to be among the best. They are bred uniformly. And among the known causes of cancer in human beings, only one has not caused cancer in rats, and vice versa.

Epstein, Schmidt and others also defend the use of large doses in the Canadian experiment. If researchers want to discover whether a substance could induce tumors over a 20-year period in two or three out of 10,000 humans, which would make the substance quite dangerous, they have to simulate those conditions among 100 rats with a one-year life expectancy. For this purpose, large doses are necessary.

To the charge that these large doses might invalidate the results, Schmidt told *IN THESE TIMES*: "It is simply not true that feeding a rat large amounts of any substance would cause cancer. Very few substances fed to rats in large amounts produce cancer."

Epstein challenges the credentials of the NCI's Newell to speak for cancer researchers. "He is characterized by a total lack of information in the field," Epstein told *IN THESE TIMES*, and, according to Epstein, is part of a group within NCI that has opposed the idea that cancer can be environmentally induced. Epstein sees the results of the Buffalo monkey experiments as still "incomplete" and denies that they would negate the Canadian and other findings.

►A misleading statement.

Epstein describes the initial FDA statement of the ban as "misleading" because it based its decision solely on the Canadian study. Epstein cites eleven other tests that linked saccharin with bladder cancer, including one in which the daily saccharin dosage was equivalent to one and a half cans of diet soda.

Epstein and the consumer health movement also question whether saccharin has any beneficial effects. Epstein and Anita Johnson both cite tests that show saccharin may increase rather than decrease appetite, and along with other specialists, deny that saccharin is essential for diabetics. (There is also the possibility that among the several artificial sweeteners now being tested, one will emerge as an acceptable substitute for saccharin.)

Johnson and Epstein do not advocate a total ban on saccharin, however. Allowing that some might want to take the risk, they advocate that the FDA make it available as an over-the-counter drug. But they oppose any suggestion of replacing the ban on its use in foods with a warning label.

"We have a right to assume that our foodstuffs are safe from dangerous additives," Johnson told *IN THESE TIMES*. "When we go into the supermarket, we shouldn't have to be faced with major life decisions. In addition, if you continue to add it to food, you have no way to protect children and teenagers."

Johnson fears that the public outcry over the saccharin ban may give groups like the Grocery Manufacturers Association and the Society for the Plastics Industry, which have been "gunning for the food laws," a chance to repeal the Delaney Act and modify the pure food laws. Already several bills have been introduced with that purpose in mind.

"All consumers should be worried about what industry will do about this ban," she said.

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IN THE NATION

U.S.-Vietnam normalization in sight

By Gareth Porter

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Woodcock Commission's trip has stirred anger among Washington policy circles associated with the Nixon-Kissinger approach. One former Kissinger aide told a friend last week he was disgusted by the pro-Vietnamese tenor of the trip.

Washington. The prospects for a resolution of the postwar diplomatic tangle in U.S.-Vietnam relations increased dramatically last week as President Carter refused to rule out economic assistance to Vietnam in connection with upcoming negotiations with Hanoi.

Carter's press conference remarks on relations with Vietnam were his first substantial statement on the subject since becoming President. Carter indicated that he is ready to begin serious negotiations with Vietnam in Paris on all three problems still outstanding: soldiers missing-in-action (MIAs), postwar reconstruction aid, and normalization of relations.

Carter told the press that he would aggressively move to admit Vietnam to the United Nations and also normalize relations with them if he were convinced as a result of the Paris negotiations and other actions on the part of the Vietnamese that they are acting in good faith. This represented a major departure from the policy of the Ford administration, which had demanded that the Vietnamese provide a full accounting for MIA's before there could be progress on any other U.S.-Vietnam issues.

In an equally important shift of policy, Carter left open the option of economic assistance to Vietnam while disavowing any intention to apologize for the U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Carter indicated that his policy on "future economic relationships" with Vietnam would be set only "after we continue with negotiations to see what their attitude might be toward us." Under Henry Kissinger's leadership, U.S. policy on postwar Vietnam had been to explicitly rule out any economic assistance to Vietnam.

►A subtle shift in Vietnamese diplomacy.

Carter's press conference statements were prompted by the report of the Woodcock Commission, which returned from Hanoi last week. The report indicated that the SRV (Socialist Republic of Vietnam) had significantly modified its previous policy, giving it greater flexibility on the

issues of MIAs and postwar reconstruction aid. Most important was the Vietnamese willingness to begin cooperating with the U.S. in MIA information, without any prior U.S. agreement on the Vietnamese demand for postwar aid.

The report said Vietnamese officials were careful to say that none of these three points (MIAs, normalization, and aid) should be considered as a precondition to the other two, and it was not the SRV's intention to raise the question in this way. The commission's report makes it clear, however, that the SRV still considers the three issues to be "inter-related."

The implication of this subtle shift in diplomatic formula seems to be that the Vietnamese are prepared to move ahead on the MIA accounting in advance of any agreement on the aid issue, but that they expect the U.S. to be responsive to its concern on the aid issue. As the commission report puts it, "actual Vietnamese performance on MIAs will probably be subject to our willingness to move concretely to implement the spirit of goodwill displayed by the commission's visit."

Vietnamese officials also indicated to the commission their government's willingness to resolve the problem of U.S. postwar aid in a way that would not require mention of any past U.S. obligations, according to the commission's report. They suggested that the U.S. ought to be willing to "act humanely to repair some of the destruction caused during the war" in response to the "humanitarian act" of providing MIA information by Vietnam. This shift was prompted, the Vietnamese explained, by their under-

standing of the domestic political constraints in the U.S.

Vietnamese officials have been prepared to agree to such a compromise formula for many months. As long ago as July 1976 a high-ranking Hanoi official told a visiting anti-war activist that Vietnam understood that any new agreement with the U.S. could not mention the Paris agreement or a legal obligation.

Despite these Vietnamese moves toward a compromise solution, Hanoi's insistence on the principle that the U.S. has a legal and moral obligation to provide postwar aid remains unchanged, as the Woodcock Commission report makes clear. Whatever formula is arranged to allow the U.S. to give aid in a palatable form, the SRV will continue to regard it as the fulfillment, even if only symbolically, of the U.S. responsibility to help "heal the wounds of war" as promised in the Paris agreement and, even more concretely, by the secret Nixon letter of Feb. 1, 1973. Any move to drop that demand would be as politically impossible for Hanoi as the payment of the reparations would be for the U.S.

►Commission report low key.

The commission's report, as distributed to the press last week, was deliberately low-key in its recommendations, according to a source close to the commission. It did not fully reflect the commission's recommendations to the President in the meeting last Wednesday.

Although the House Select Committee on MIAs had recommended in its final report last December that consideration be

given to humanitarian aid to Vietnam in negotiations with Hanoi, the commission report made no general recommendation on postwar aid, suggesting only that "technical advice and assistance" be offered Vietnam on defusing unexploded ordnance. Nor was any recommendation made on the subject of trade with Vietnam in spite of the fact that all five members of the commission returned from the trip united in advocating a lifting of the trade embargo, according to one source who accompanied them to Hanoi.

The State department has been reviewing the embargo ever since the Carter administration team took over, especially in light of the probability that legislation will be passed by Congress lifting the embargo. Such legislation passed both houses last year only to be vetoed by Ford. It now seems likely that the Carter administration will await the start of the negotiations in Paris before making any substantive new moves such as lifting the trade embargo. That move may be timed to have maximum impact on the talks as a major U.S. political gesture.

As for economic aid, Carter's statement suggesting that it has not been ruled out does not mean that any decision has been made yet to agree to aid in any form. White House and State department officials at the working level have expressed skepticism in recent weeks that the U.S. will ever give direct aid to Vietnam. They point to existing legislative prohibitions against aid to any Indochinese country as evidence that economic aid is not politically feasible. Those prohibitions would have to be modified even to extend aid to Vietnam through international agencies.

While there are still tough, complicated and perhaps long negotiations still ahead, the Woodcock Commission's trip has stirred anger among Washington policy circles associated with the Nixon-Kissinger approach. One former aide to Kissinger told a friend last week he was disgusted by the pro-Vietnamese tenor of the trip. He termed it "penitential."

Gareth Porter lives and writes in Washington. He was codirector of the Indochina Resource Center.

Civil rights storm over Hollywood

By David Talbot

In March 1969 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission conducted a two-day hearing on hiring practices in the movie and television industries. The EEOC investigation, which uncovered a clear pattern of employment discrimination, sent a wave of tremors through Hollywood. *Variety* predicted that the hearing would lead to "the biggest upheaval in the Hollywood film industry in decades." But the ultimate effect of the EEOC investigation was much less dramatic than Hollywood initially feared.

In 1970 the motion picture studios, television networks and Hollywood craft locals signed a voluntary agreement to bring more minorities into the entertainment industry's exclusive labor pool. The voluntary agreement, which was negotiated by Attorney General John Mitchell's Justice department, was viewed as a victory for the industry since it lacked the legal force of a consent decree.

The latest federal figures show that the agreement did virtually nothing to change the racial and sexual make-up of Hollywood's work force. Between 1970 and

1975 employment of blacks in the motion picture industry actually fell from 9.3 percent to 6.6 percent. Employment of women during that same period dropped from 36.7 percent to 31.4 percent. The percentages for Asian-Americans, Mexican-Americans and Native Americans rose slightly to levels of 1.7 percent, 5.8 percent and .5 percent, respectively.

►Back in Hollywood again.

Now, eight years after the EEOC hearing, the federal government is again turning its attention toward the problem of job discrimination in Hollywood. On March 16 the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held an all-day hearing in Los Angeles on employment opportunities for women and minorities in the movie industry. Among those subpoenaed by the commission were officials from three major studios—Paramount Pictures, Warner Brothers, and 20th Century-Fox—and the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (IATSE), which represents some 16,000 Hollywood craftworkers.

In their opening statements, studio officials claimed that significant progress had been made in recent years to end dis-



EEOC hearings in Hollywood

Photo by Norma Jean

crimination. But a different picture emerged when commission members began questioning the witnesses. Robert L. Proctor, Paramount's director of personnel, revealed that the studio had no affirmative action plan until 1976. Paramount still does not set employment goals for women and minorities in the craft categories, stated another studio official, "because there is no way to predict the number of [craftworkers] we will employ in a given year."

Minority actors and actresses frequently complain that they are only given the opportunity to compete for a role when the script specifically calls for someone of

their race. 20th Century-Fox officials testified that their studio is making a strong effort to correct this problem. Dennis C. Steanfill, board chairman of the studio, cited "two cases recently in our films in which we cast blacks in roles even though the script did not call for blacks—the latest one being Richard Pryor in our hit picture *Silverstreak*."

The 20th Century-Fox representatives seemed to be less proud of their past efforts to end discrimination in the off-camera areas. Robert Holms, manager of employee relations, explained that the stu-

Continued on page 4.

THE LAW

To keep Georgia electric chairs empty

By Mark Pinsky

Dawson, Ga. For Courtney Mullin and Millard Farmer, two members of the Team Defense Project, it's not all that unusual to cover more than 700 miles in a single day, driving around what they refer to as the "Death Belt" section of southern Georgia.

The region, says Farmer, had the highest concentration of racially motivated lynchings in the 50 years following the Civil War and the greatest number of executions of poor blacks in the 50 years thereafter.

As officials in Georgia begin dusting off the state's electric chair in Reidsville, Ga., Farmer—a 42-year-old lawyer who resigned recently as Senior Public Defender of the Georgia Criminal Justice Council—and Mullin—a 35-year-old social scientist who headed the Joan Little Fair Jury Project—feverishly go about the business of seeing that no one is put to death in Georgia or any other Southern state.

Established by the Montgomery, Ala., based Law Center, the Team Defense Project is a racially and sexually balanced effort, based in Atlanta, concentrating on cases involving indigent, minority group defendants who face the death penalty. The more hopeless the defendants' outlook, the more likely the team is to take the case.

In addition to Farmer and Mullin, the team includes the fulltime efforts of a second lawyer, a secretary and numerous other part time attorneys, law students and experts in various fields.

The team is now working on 15 to 20 capital cases across the South, and advising hundreds of defense attorneys and public defenders in seminars at universities and urban centers.

►No defendant need be executed.

The team's message is simple—with a specialized defense and adequate resources, no defendant need be executed by the state.

Their strategy, which evolved from "things we were doing that seemed to be working" in political trials of the late '60s and early '70s, like Joan Little's, include the following elements:

Selecting the jury with the aid of a psychological profile, making use of extensive demographic research;

•filing numerous pre-trial motions, including those that call for a change of venue and challenge the racial composition of the jury pool;

•taking as much time as possible to try the case so as to give the individual mem-

bers of the jury enough time to get to know the defendant;

•always putting the defendant on the witness stand, using the same rationale;

•admitting the guilt of the defendant, where necessary, in the opening statement to the jury;

•turning the penalty phase of the trial, in the event of a first degree conviction, into an elaborate seminar on the uses and history of "Death as Punishment."

"At least as significant as any of these aspects of our strategy," says Courtney Mullin, "is our commitment to making the defendant an integral and central part of developing the defense."

►Not the DA's favorite folks.

"We are not the DA's favorite folks to come to town," Millard Farmer says with a laugh. "We lay him open to public scrutiny and occasionally expose his racism."

In his legal career Farmer has taken 70 capital cases and never lost a client to the electric chair. The son of a textile worker, and a longtime resident of the small, south Georgia town of Newman, the attorney is given to charcoal gray, three-piece suits and courtroom pyrotechnics. In a recent death penalty case he offered to trade the jury three of his limbs in exchange for a life sentence for his client. (The man got life.) Farmer has been jailed for contempt and punched by a sheriff in judge's chambers. Defense team procedure now includes the stricture that attorneys decline to meet in the judge's chambers without the presence of the court reporter.

►The "Dawson Boys."

Most of the Team Defense Project's efforts are now taken up with preparations for defending "the Dawson Boys," five black youths charged with armed robbery and murder in connection with the killing of a white man in a rural, crossroads convenience store.

The town of Dawson is located just 20 miles up the road from Plains, the capital of the New South. Yet Millard Farmer, with some scorn, calls Dawson "the buckle on the Death Belt," noting that during the civil rights movement the county in which it is located was known as "terrible Terrell County."

The local powers that be are none too happy about the Team Defense Project's involvement in the case or the increasing publicity the area has been receiving as a result.

"They're in it for the money," says District Attorney John Irwin, a former member of the Georgia legislature. "And what I resent is Julian Bond sending all you boys down here to help them do it."



Millard Farmer (left) of the Defense Team talks with Roosevelt Watson, who may face electric chair. Mrs. Fanny Watson, Watson's mother, listens.

Photo by Mike Fildow

Irwin insists that the case is a run of the mill, open and shut homicide, undistinguished save for the interest of outsiders.

In some ways the Team Defense Project does not disagree, preferring to call it typical of the Old South, "get the nearest nigger" school of criminal investigation.

This includes accepting the implausible account of a single white witness over that of the five black defendants and at least two eyewitnesses who place them elsewhere at the time of the robbery, and conducting an investigation shot through with intimidation and sloppy police work.

The five defendants have been compared by attorneys, supporters and even some journalists to the "Scottsboro Boys." This description is more a function

of their personal similarities to the Alabama defendants than any similarities in the particulars of the case. The boys are simple, illiterate and dirt poor. None has ever been in any trouble with the law before this and, interviewing them and their families, one is struck by their bewilderment. They seem perplexed and frightened by all that has happened, rather than angry or defensive.

"We defend plenty of guilty people," says Millard Farmer, "and we make no bones about it. The team is motivated by our firm, hard belief in the gross injustice of the death penalty. But these boys just happen to be innocent and we think we can prove it, even in Terrell County."

Mark Pinsky is a writer living in North Carolina.

Hollywood civil rights

Continued from page 3.

dio's training and recruitment program had suffered because of "considerable turbulence and turnover in the employee relations department."

►"Experience roster" the culprit.

As the hearing progressed it became clear that the commission's primary target was the movie industry's "experience roster" hiring system. Under their bargaining agreement with IATSE, film studios must employ everyone on the craft locals' rosters before they can fill a job opening with someone else.

Studio officials claim that they pick the names of women and minorities off the rosters as often as possible. Since few non-whites and females have managed to get onto the select labor lists, however, few get hired.

Leon Johnson, Paramount's employee relations manager, testified that to his knowledge not one minority cinematographer has been employed by his studio in the past year. Director Wendell Frank-

lin told the civil rights commission that "99.9 percent of the key personnel behind the camera on the television production *Roots* were not black."

Mounting legal pressure recently forced IATSE locals to open up their rosters to all Hollywood craftworkers who had put in a certain number of work-days during 1976. The rosters will remain open to this category of employees until May 12. But IATSE has consistently refused to do away with the roster system altogether.

Union officials blame the lack of opportunities for women and minorities in Hollywood on the industry's chronic unemployment problem. More than 62 percent of IATSE's membership works only 26 weeks or less in a year, testified Joe Bernay, the union's international representative.

"The major studios of yesteryear are gone," Bernay declared. "Warner Brothers makes 14 pictures a year now; they used to make 80. MGM once made 100 pictures; last year they made six. The

work opportunities are going downhill for everybody."

Bernay pointed to runaway production as one of the major sources of unemployment in Hollywood. The producers "go to Arizona. Then they don't have to follow any system, minority or otherwise. They escape us. All they have to do is get a Cinemobile, put it inside a C-54 and fly to the Philippines. Like Francis Ford Coppola who's over there shooting *Apocalypse Now*."

►Only country without government subsidy.

The discrimination problem could be greatly alleviated, suggested Bernay, if the federal government created more job opportunities in Hollywood. "This is the only country in the world," declared the union official, "where the government does not subsidize the film industry."

In 1974, according to Bernay, IATSE offered to "open the roster wide" if Washington agreed to give Hollywood studios and unions its \$500 million a year film business. But, he said, the government turned down the union's offer.

The civil rights panel did not pursue the unemployment issue, however. Commissioner Frankie M. Freeman said her main concern was how to divide the existing jobs in Hollywood more equitably. The

motion picture industry, remarked Freeman, wields a great deal of influence on the rest of the country. Some way must be found, she said, to "crack" discrimination in Hollywood.

Commission chairman Arthur S. Flemming concluded that the roster system is the principal barrier to equal employment opportunity in the film industry. It was the same conclusion that the EEOC came to after its 1969 hearing.

"The thing that haunts me," remarked Flemming, "is that this roster system was identified as the major roadblock back in the '60s" and yet the government was unable to "get rid of it."

In his closing comments, Flemming made it clear that he disapproved of the voluntary agreement that the Justice department negotiated with the industry in 1970. "We would've been better off if there had been a court injunction instead of an agreement," he said.

Flemming's commission will probably urge the Carter administration to take strong legal action against the industry's hiring system. Whether Griffin Bell's Justice department will be more willing than John Mitchell's to enforce civil rights laws in Hollywood remains to be seen.

David Talbot is co-writing a book on social commitment in Hollywood.

U.S. subsidizes suburbs and Sunbelt

By Emily Paradise Achtenberg

"If the city can spend millions of federal dollars to upgrade a marshland, they can use some money to upgrade the things provided citizens who have been paying taxes 50 to 100 years." Across the nation, accusations like this one from a North Carolina community group have become all too familiar when discussion of the federal Community Development Block Grant program comes up.

At stake is over \$3 billion in federal funds for local programs to develop "viable urban communities." Enacted in 1974 and due to expire this year, the block grant program marked a significant turning point in the federal approach to urban problems. Previously, cities competed for aid under various "categorical" programs like urban renewal and model cities.

The block grant strategy, part of Nixon's "New Federalism," was designed to distribute funds more objectively and flexibly. It gave up the old programs, replacing them with a single grant, automatically allocated to eligible cities in amounts based on a mathematical "needs formula." It would be up to local officials to decide how and where to spend block grant money within very loose federal guidelines.

The debate over the CDBG program has raised some fundamental questions about the direction and purpose of federal urban policy—who should be served and what types of activities should be funded.

The CDBG legislation itself is ambiguous. While communities must give "maximum feasible priority" to activities benefiting poorer residents, they can also get funds to "prevent slums and blight" or to meet "urgent" community development needs.

The record of the past two years, however, shows that some clear policy trends have emerged—and they are anything but encouraging to many community activists.

►Federal aid redistributed.

There is a growing recognition that the block grant allocations formula is gradually redistributing federal aid away from the older, impoverished Northeastern and Midwestern cities to smaller towns and suburbs, especially in the Sunbelt.

A report recently released by the Brookings Institution shows that by 1980 all but two of the 20 worst-off cities in the country will be getting less federal aid than they received a decade earlier. Community development funds, for example, will drop by 64 percent in Boston and by 52 percent in Newark. In contrast, Phoenix will receive more than seven times as much as before, and Dallas will get five times as much.

Overall, towns with fewer than 100,000 residents will soon receive more than half of all community development money.

In addition, recent studies by the General Accounting Office and the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials reveal that only about half of all CDBG funds nationally are spent in low and moderate income neighborhoods. This includes funds to complete old urban renewal projects, which many say are of dubious benefit to lower income residents.

Many smaller towns and suburbs have chosen to divert federal aid funds to major public works or business redevelopment projects—a central fire station in Gulfport, Miss.; a municipal golf course in Alhambra, Calif.; a downtown civic center in Spartanburg, S.C. At the same time, other strategies are at work to achieve the same results in larger cities.

►Neighborhood triage.

Faced with imminent fiscal collapse and declining federal aid levels, cities like Boston disperse their block grant allocations selectively for a multitude of neighborhood "fix-up" projects. Parks, street improvements and police patrols are combined with incentives for homeowner and



Much of \$3 billion in federal funds earmarked to develop "viable urban communities" has made its way instead to suburbs.

small business rehabilitation. This strategic investment of scarce public resources will, it is hoped, attract sufficient private funds to revitalize neighborhoods on the brink of decline.

While the rhetoric sounds appealing, it provides few concrete benefits for Boston's Roxbury or New York's South Bronx, with their rows of abandoned buildings, burned-out commercial arteries and soaring unemployment rates. More than a park and paintbrush is needed to begin to address the problems of these severely depressed neighborhoods.

Community groups see a deliberate policy emerging from these expenditure patterns. Sometimes called "neighborhood triage"—a military concept used to justify selective medical aid for injured soldiers with the greatest survival potential—it is exemplified by the recent remarks of a prominent Boston redevelopment official before a congressional subcommittee:

"In order to conserve our existing financial and physical resources, we will have to adopt a strategy of benign neglect for certain neighborhoods...and focus [resources] on specific objectives that will be supported by a response from the marketplace.

"The consequences of this are tough. There are neighborhoods that will wither away; there are commercial areas that will die. However, you cannot afford to address the areas of greatest need because by doing so...you will reduce your capacity to conserve marginal areas where people still want to live."

A similar strategy of "planned shrinkage" for impoverished neighborhoods has been advocated by Roger Starr, former head of New York City's Housing and Development Administration, as a basis for achieving cutbacks in city services. Local politicians have been quick to repudiate the public remarks—but not the policy.

Even for neighborhoods in less ad-

vanced stages of decay, the market strategy provides little more than a temporary holding action. While a few houses and streets may be improved, the basic institutions at the root of the neighborhood problems—the confiscatory property tax, the discriminatory mortgage lending system and income inequality—remain unchanged. And even where significant private investment can be attracted, neighborhoods will be upgraded only at the expense of present residents forced out by rising rents and property values.

►Consolidation of political control.

A major outcome of the block grant program has been the consolidation of political power by local chief executives who now control the disbursement of community development money.

In Boston, long-standing neighborhood commitments have been dropped as block grant spending decisions increasingly follow voting patterns from the last mayoral elections. In addition, more than 20 percent of Boston's CDBG grant is allocated to centralized administrative and planning functions, including an executive office reorganization and a personnel review board to enforce political loyalty among city employees.

"This is more than a question of good, orderly government or political power," said one former city consultant. "It's a question of whether Mayor White is using federal funds to help build his campaign organization."

The block grant structure provides few checks on this process. Minimal citizens participation requirements create no obligation for local officials to secure meaningful community input. "HUD's [community development] client is the municipal government, not the people," said one Chicago community spokesperson.

At the same time, federal CDBG mon-

itoring has been perfunctory and ineffective, with no performance standards and total reliance on local certifications as a measure of compliance. With virtually absolute control over both the citizen and federal ends of the process, local officials are increasingly accountable to no one.

►Prospects for change.

Recently, the Carter administration proposed a \$1 billion increase in block grant appropriations and a revised allocations formula to channel more aid to impoverished cities. Neighborhood groups, led by the Chicago-based National Peoples' Action, want larger changes including substantially increased funding levels, explicit targeting of CDBG funds for low and moderate income residents, spending control by elected resident boards, and a direct pass-through of federal funds to community organizations.

While some revisions in the formula are likely, to reflect the increased political influence of big-city voting blocs, the direction of the block grant program is unlikely to change radically.

In the face of mounting pressures for federal aid from competing constituencies, federal politicians are all ready to shift responsibility for the allocation of scarce resources to the local level.

And with many cities on the verge of fiscal collapse, politically expedient strategies to bolster the tax base, preserve some neighborhoods at the expense of others and even balance the budget are easily rationalized.

The block grant program is unfortunately well adapted to hard times—and, short of major changes in the economy, seems to represent the drift of federal urban policy for the foreseeable future.

Emily Paradise Achtenberg is a housing consultant living in Boston who recently worked on a study of the block grant program for the Brookings Institution.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Coalition winds Ford benign neglect in its own red tape

By Judy MacLean
Staff Writer

On Jan. 18, 1977, two days before Jimmy Carter was inaugurated as President, the *Congressional Record* recorded four minor changes in federal affirmative action regulations. Slightly strengthening affirmative action requirements, the changes would have warranted little notice except for the note from the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP), which is responsible for federal affirmative action, that "due to controversy" more significant change could not then be implemented.

The publication of those four, relatively insignificant changes—and only those four—however, marked a significant victory for a coalition of grass-roots and national women's and civil rights organizations and the culmination of a months-long campaign to prevent the Ford administration from institutionalizing its attitude of benign neglect for affirmative action.

It all began quietly last summer when word began to spread that OFCCP was in the process of "revising" its regulations and requirements for affirmative action on the part of federal contractors. In actuality, major changes were in the works.

The existing regulations were complex; women and minorities could seldom gain anything under them without legal help. But the new ones were worse. Fewer corporations would have been required to comply, and those remaining would have had to do less hiring and promoting of minorities and women.

Under existing regulations, a woman working for a federal contractor who was doing the same work as a man but receiving lower pay because her job title was different, or who felt she's been passed over for promotion because the next job was "men's work," could file a complaint and one of the OFCCP agencies would have to investigate. While in practice this often meant dumping the complaints on the already backlogged Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, the situation was better than under the proposed new regulations, which required no investigation.

The new regulations would also have exempted 4,000 of the 30,000 "prime contractors" by requiring affirmative action plans only in cases where the contract was over \$100,000 and the number of employees over 100. The old rules specified \$50,000 and 50 employees. In addition, the proposed regulations would have all but eliminated review of a potential contractor's affirmative action plan before a contract was actually awarded.

The story of the campaign against the new regulations, while not unique, provides an important case study of how local groups, as well as national, can act together to achieve common goals.

►Question of saving the organization.

The first to get involved were groups such as Women Employed in Chicago and 9 to 5 in Boston—groups that had regularly used the regulations in their organizing. City-wide groups, composed of clerical and other white-collar women workers, they had pressured affirmative action agencies to enforce regulations where their members worked. WE, for example, had won a \$500,000 settlement for women workers at Continental National Insurance using the regulations.

"We were forced into it. Affirmative action regulations were our major tool, it was a question of saving our organizations," says Day Creamer of WE.

From long experience the working women's groups knew the new regulations were no bureaucratic error, but part of a consistent administration policy. They also knew they would not be able to count on reasonable persuasion to stop their implementation; the Ford administration would listen only to political pressure.

This meant involving many other groups.

They also knew that if they could delay the regulations until after Jan. 20, Inauguration Day, and if, as expected, Carter won the November presidential election, the regulations would likely be shelved. "The strategy had to involve winding up the bureaucracy in its own red tape. We had to take their procedures and use them against them," says Creamer.

►Divide and conquer.

Rumors of changes in affirmative action regulations had begun to spread during summer of 1976. At that time, Larry Lorber, then director of OFCCP, had insisted they would merely "clarify and simplify," not alter the regulations. Then, on Aug. 26 (appropriately enough, Women's Equality Day), someone from OFCCP leaked an internal copy of the plan to Women Employed. As expected, the new plan drastically undercut affirmative action. WE contacted women's and civil rights organizations, who made protest telephone calls. The first delay followed, as OFCCP delayed publishing the plan in the Federal Register until mid-September. A 60-day comment period followed.

Lorber then attempted to divide civil rights and women's groups, announcing to the press that civil rights groups, including NAACP, supported the revisions and trying to paint opposing women's groups as crazy extremists. It worked for a time, but then a meeting was arranged in Washington between women's groups, civil rights groups and several labor unions. They compared the various stories they had been told about each other and agreed to cooperate to stop the rewrite. A network was formed that circulated a letter criticizing the regulations that was eventually signed by almost every major civil rights and women's group.

Prior to the meeting, the working women's groups had developed a four-point program of opposition to the changes and a 24-point positive program detailing changes that would make affirmative action more of a reality. These programs were extremely useful and served as a concrete basis for opposition to the proposed changes. The technicality of the regulations made the full dimensions of the problem hard to grasp. The press, for instance, was easily confused and tended to steer clear of the whole issue due to its complexity.

►Knowing the enemy.

Women Employed had also researched Lorber, finding that he was a corporate lawyer whose former job had been to defend the interests of the same corporations who stood to benefit from the new affirmative action plan, and that if Carter were elected, Lorber would probably return to the same type of post.

In addition, a WE member posing as a graduate student discovered the Equal Opportunity Advisory Council, a business-created group that advised OFCCP about the new regulations. Its director told her EOAC—representing most major corporations—had helped to write sections of the new plan and that they were very pleased with the results.

WE, working with Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) was able to get the information into the hands of columnist Jack Anderson's staff. The Anderson staff called Lorber and the EOAC for comment and, according to Creamer, "they flipped out. The material never appeared in the column, but it had the same effect."

Meanwhile, 9 to 5, WE and their counterparts in four other cities demonstrated at regional department of labor offices, demanding public hearings. Their Washington-based allies were leery about calling for hearings; they feared that there would not be enough testimony against the plan and that the hearings

would backfire. The working women's groups, on the other hand, believed the hearings crucial to mobilizing popular support and to the process of delaying the regulations until after inauguration day. A compromise was reached where the national groups agreed not to oppose demands for public hearings pushed by local organizations.

Pressure was also put on the Carter and Ford campaign staffs for a statement—Carter eventually called for strengthening affirmative action and more public input. Sympathetic congresspeople were asked to contact Labor Secretary Ustry and some 50 eventually did. All groups involved kept a steady stream of postcards, petitions and endorsements of the four-point program arriving at OFCCP. Finally, on Oct. 26 the OFCCP announced public hearings would be held.

"We wanted the hearings to stretch out as long as possible, so the OFCCP would have to deal with hundreds of pages of testimony," says Creamer. The local groups began to line up people and organizations to testify at the hearings.

►Carter and Congress.

Three events then happened that were to affect the fight. First, Carter won the election, making it very likely that the new regulations would be abandoned if their implementation could be put off till after the inauguration. Second, Congressional hearings were held on the matter. There, the Chamber of Commerce broke with the line the corporations had been using, that the new regulations would merely "clarify and simplify."

"They came out in the open purely and simply against all of us," says Creamer. "Before, they claimed they were for equal opportunity, that they just wanted to cut red tape. Now suddenly it was, 'we don't want these civil rights groups filing complaints, winning back pay or all these investigations.' That gave us a handle. We could point to their statements as the real reasons for the rewriting, as we'd been saying all along."

►The Dunlop issue.

The third event was Carter's public consideration of John Dunlop as his Secretary of Labor. This complicated the affirmative action issue. Dunlop was not considered to be favorable to affirmative action. During his earlier tenure as Labor secretary under Ford, he did not have good working relationships with women and minority groups. He had also expressed public opposition to contract compliance programs as a way of enforcing affirmative action.

His consideration meant that a second front in the affirmative action struggle had opened up. If Dunlop were to be appointed the various groups working on affirmative action feared that it would mean four more years of policies like the regulations the Ford administration was proposing.

Opposition to Dunlop was immediately mounted. Because of this opposition, as well as some opposition from liberal unions, Dunlop was withdrawn from consideration and Ray Marshall, considered more responsive to minority and women's issues, was nominated.

Creamer speculates that Carter wasn't wholeheartedly behind Dunlop, but was responding to AFL-CIO pressure in his favor. "If you compare what happened with Dunlop and with Griffin Bell," she says, "you see that Carter could have gotten people like Andrew Young to come out for Dunlop. That didn't happen. I think Carter didn't really want him." Women and minority group opposition, she believes, was merely a convenient way of ruling out Dunlop without appearing to be slighting the AFL-CIO leadership.

►The final phase.

With Dunlop out of the picture, the



Photo by Women Employed

Member of Women Employed holds lists of signatures gathered on Chicago streets to defend affirmative action.

groups entered the final phase of their campaign to stop the Ford-inspired regulations from becoming public law. Six weeks remained until the inauguration.

The hard-won public hearings were held in mid-December in four cities. They were packed. OFCCP scheduled them for one day—they dragged on for four. By the last day, even the OFCCP hearing officers at the Chicago hearing were claiming they didn't want the new regulations to go through.

The groups followed the hearings with a telegram blitz to Labor secretary Ustry. By law, the OFCCP had to go through all the hearing testimony before publishing the new regulations. As the deadline approached, it was learned that much of the hearing testimony hadn't even been taken out of the boxes yet. Threats of legal action if the regulations were issued put still more pressure on OFCCP to delay issuing the new regulations.

Jan. 18 was the last day the regulations could appear in the *Congressional Record*. With the appearance of only four minor changes, which actually strengthened affirmative action, victory had been won; the delaying tactic had proven effective.

►Carter provides a new terrain.

Activists in that campaign are hopeful that the Carter administration will provide a different terrain for affirmative action struggles.

"We've changed the nature of the fight. We're now at ground zero and we can try to expand affirmative action instead of fighting to keep from losing what we have," says Creamer. The groups expect to see proposals in the next year for both legislative and regulatory reform, but caution that they won't happen without political pressure to counter the corporate lobby.

Waging such a fight is expensive. WE, 9 to 5 and other groups had staff working on it full-time; other women's and civil rights groups spent their time and money. WE alone spent \$20,000 fighting the new regulations.

"The strategy of winding up the bureaucracy in its own red tape worked," comments Creamer. She feels the most important lesson for the campaign is that grass-roots organizations and Washington-based lobbying groups can work together and stage a multi-level fight.

"We learned that a coalition of women's and civil rights groups can be incredibly powerful," says Creamer. "If we work together, we can win, even against incredible odds."



Airforce enlistees on parade.

Photo by U.S. Airforce

THE MILITARY

Surprising enlistee support for an airforce union

By Ed Sowders

A surprising new element has been added to the growing national debate over unionizing the U.S. armed forces (*ITT*, Jan. 12). A recently-released survey of the attitudes of Air Force personnel towards military unions, conducted by officers at the Air Force Institute of Technology, indicates that 35 percent of all enlisted airmen surveyed would join a military union if given the opportunity. Another one-third was undecided. If even half of this third could be won to the union cause, a majority would be found.

The report's startling disclosure, however, was the apparent pro-union sentiment among senior noncommissioned officers, who are often seen as the most conservative military personnel. Twenty-five percent said they would join a military union, with an additional 36 percent undecided—again enough to establish a possible majority in favor of unionization.

Opposition to union membership was highest among senior officers, as would be expected. Still, 16 percent of the officers, representing mostly junior officers, said they favored union membership.

The study represents the first real indication of the opinions of active-duty personnel on the military unions, which have recently been proposed by the American Federation of Government Employees. The study has been kept under wraps since June 1976 and was only made public last month after the *Washington Post* received a copy by the "threat" of an official request under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act.

There has been little response so far from congressional and military opponents of unionism. The Air Force has called the study a work of the authors alone, implying it isn't "officially" accepted. The authors, all officers experienced in "official" surveys, say their findings are "reasonably representative of the [entire] Air Force population."

AFGE leaders, on the other hand, said the survey is a clear indication of the widespread support for their proposed organizing drive. Civilian activists interested in the military union drive agree and are urging AFGE to quickly begin organizing GIs. They point out that pro-union sentiment may run even higher in other branches of the military where material conditions are worse, disciplinary rates higher and morale much lower.

Opponents of military unionism have

said that a union would cause the demise of "good order and discipline" and morale in the armed forces and would reduce the "professionalism" and effectiveness of troops. A majority of enlisted personnel surveyed, on the other hand, said that union membership would either increase or have no effect upon their individual professionalism. Fifty-nine percent felt the effectiveness of the Air Force would either be increased or that a union would have no effect upon it. One-half were either undecided (14 percent) or disagreed (36 percent) with the statement that a military union would negatively affect discipline.

Officers, however, had more agreement with union opponents on these questions. They also perceive a threat to their own positions in that a military union "would take away the rights of managers." A clear majority saw unions as having a negative effect upon relations between supervisors and subordinates, while the bulk of enlisted people (including supervisory NCOs) saw such relations improving (30 percent) or saw unions have no effect at all (33 percent) upon supervisor/subordinate relations.

Over half of the enlisted people saw the need for "third party representation" in the negotiation of disputes between the Air Force and individual service members, and two-thirds either agreed or were undecided with the survey statement that "union representation would insure that military members are treated with dignity as individuals." Officers, however, disagreed with both statements.

Officers and enlisted personnel agreed on other points. All saw their benefits—seen as part of an "unwritten contract" with the government—being eroded and agreed upon the need for a lobbying effort in Congress on behalf of military personnel. Ironically, even the officers admitted that a union could be effective in their behalf, though only a minority expressed the willingness to join.

Both groups felt that union membership should be open to both officers and enlisted personnel and both would rule out strikes as a legitimate means of solving grievances.

A copy of this survey can be obtained by sending a check or money order for \$3.50 (for duplicating and postage) to: Ms. E. Torres, 261 East 10th St., New York, NY 10009.

Ed Sowders is a Vietnam veteran and free-lance writer on military and veterans affairs. He has been a military and veterans counselor and past coordinator of the Safe Return Amnesty Committee.

THE STATES

Relying for most of its resources on the deposit of all state money, the Bank of North Dakota has returned \$91 million in profit to the state while gaining a degree of public control unique for a U.S. bank.

North Dakota's answer—a state-owned bank

By James E. Rowen
Pacific News Service

With city after city facing financial collapse and social decay, several highly urbanized states are looking to rural North Dakota for a possible answer to their fiscal crises.

The object of their affections is the state Bank of North Dakota—the only existing public bank in the U.S.—which since its founding in 1919 has lent millions of dollars to North Dakota farmers and students.

Relying for most of its resources on the deposit of all state money, the Bank of North Dakota has returned \$91 million in profit to the state while gaining a degree of public control unique for a bank in the U.S. Such democratic control—it is run by a three-member board of elected state officials—has inspired activists around the country looking for financial and political means to implement new fiscal policies.

They dream of public banks allocating money, credit and technical assistance to cash-starved cities, co-ops, minority enterprises, small businesses, worker-controlled companies and other projects private banks usually have not supported.

Proposals for such state-owned banks are now under official review in eight states and the District of Columbia.

In New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, California, Florida, Colorado, Oregon and Washington, public bank proponents believe the system that has helped farmers in North Dakota can give the public more power to direct urban development in their states.

►Put public money in a public bank.

Nearly all cities and states now routinely deposit their funds in private banks. Public capital proponents propose to invest those funds in public banks, which, like the Bank of North Dakota, would be prohibited from making traditional commercial or personal loans.

New York State Assembly Speaker Stanley Steingut, who has proposed a New York State public bank, says the "state bank concept originated in a discussion of how to link state deposits to public needs—how to make public money work for the public good."

A bill to create the State Public Bank of Oregon, introduced by Oregon legislator George Starr, declares that the bank "be a government agency established for the public benefit." Similar "public-money-for-public-needs" definitions are repeated in all the pending public bank proposals.

A survey by the *Washington Post* in the District of Columbia points up one reason why. The survey found that more than 50 percent of total mortgages approved by banks in 1975 went to the predominantly white and wealthy northwest neighborhoods that make up a small fraction of the city.

Steingut's New York state proposal, spurred by the recession and the calamitous financial condition of New York City, passed the Assembly in 1975 but was killed in the Senate after strong opposition from the state's banking lobby.

The private bankers clearly feared the transfer of the state's \$6 billion in deposits to the new public bank, creating immediate competition from what instantly would have become one of the largest banks in the country.

But Steingut plans to reintroduce his proposal, which was endorsed by Ralph Nader, economist Eliot Janeway and Bank of North Dakota president H.L. Thorndal. And because of New York's precarious financial position, it is considered the state most likely to approve the nation's second public state bank.

"A bank owned, operated by and for the people of a state will not be a panacea for all of a state's economic and social problems," warns North Dakota's Thorndal. "But it can be a great help in alleviating many of these problems and can give leadership and financial input in isolated and special areas."

►Sounding the business alarm.

Barron's, Dow Jones & Co.'s respected financial weekly, sounded an alarm against the public capital movement in a two-part series last August. The articles identified the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies as the force behind the movement, and nervously pointed to many former antiwar activists who are "going respectable" and targeting the country's banking system for substantial overhaul.

"This change in strategy," wrote *Barron's* David Kelley, "tends to obscure an underlying continuity in purpose, which is still to bring about a socialist society, with community ownership and control of all resources."

"It also obscures the kind of power which the left can now deploy inside the system to achieve its goal."

But ironically, the public banks concept has been given one of its biggest boosts—and a degree of legitimacy unthinkable five years ago—by the nation's financially strapped big-city mayors.

At a recent emergency meeting in Chicago of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the mayors urged the Carter administration to create a "National Urban Development Bank" to lend federal funds to local governments and private businesses.

According to a confidential report prepared for the mayors' meeting, the fiscally imperiled eastern and northern urban states are "exporting" billions of dollars of much-needed capital to states in the South, Southwest and West. Private bankers with non-public priorities, the report said, saw greater guaranteed profits in the Sunbelt.

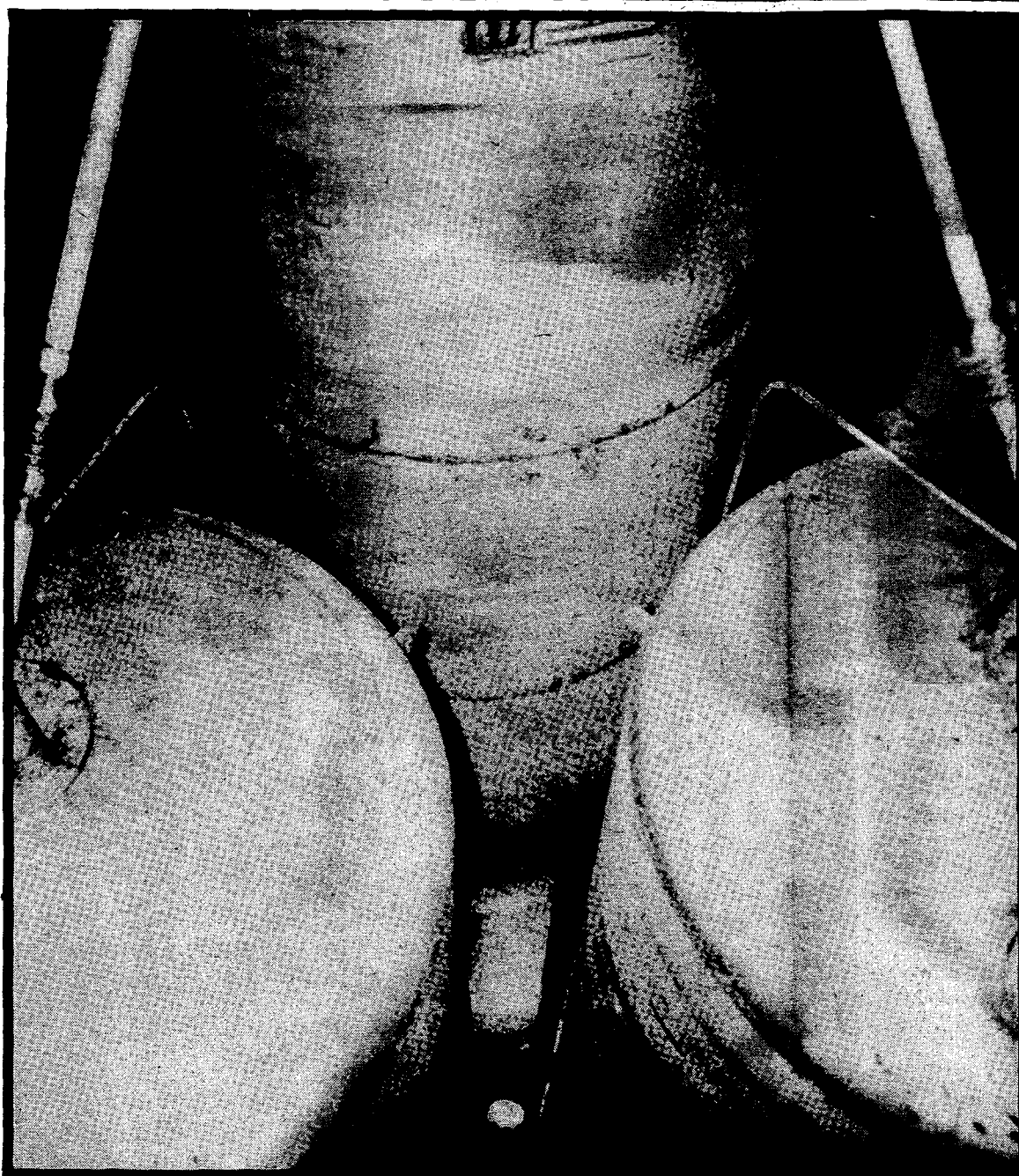
Sen. Thomas McIntyre (D-N.H.) is sponsoring federal legislation to create a "National Consumer Cooperative Bank" that would lend money to existing or proposed cooperatives to provide community-controlled services in the areas of housing, health, food, preschool education and other businesses.

Several states have also taken half-way steps toward public banking. In Massachusetts, voters approved \$10 million in seed money last fall for a public agency to provide equity and venture capital to create new jobs in local businesses. That agency, the Massachusetts Community Development Finance Corp., is setting its priorities in areas of high joblessness and will operate much as a state development bank.

Other specialized public financial programs are in operation in Kansas, Pennsylvania and Connecticut.

James Rowen is administrative assistant to the mayor of Madison, Wisc.

ECO-ECHOES



A federal energy official expressed fear that ERDA's plans to bury nuclear wastes in some states might run into opposition from environmentalists. Observers point out that there have been numerous instances of nuclear wastes leaking from burial sites, angering citizens whose lives are endangered by the increase in radioactivity.

Photo by AEC/Environment

Solar energy from space

The aerospace industry has gained congressional support for adding millions of dollars to the nation's energy and space budget for studies aimed at putting giant solar power plants into space orbit.

The orbiting solar stations would collect the sun's energy high above the atmosphere, where it is strongest, and transmit it via microwave to energy conversion plants on earth. While such a system is only in the early stages of development, the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) reports that it will be technologically feasible and cost-competitive with other non-exhaustible energy sources.

James Harford of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, an industry trade group, told a House subcommittee that "...development and deployment of space-based solar power stations represents perhaps the most significant impact the space program may have on the human race in this and the next century."

He described as "incredibly shortsighted" the lack of any funds in either the energy or space budgets for fiscal year 1978. ERDA had requested \$5-6 million for studies on satellite solar stations. An industry magazine reports that there is now key congressional support for including the funds in the House authorization bill.

(Information from Pacific News Service)

PBB still a Michigan issue

Faced with the chemical contamination of thousands of their cattle, Michigan farmers are charging "willful, wanton neglect" by a chemical company, a coverup by the state's Farm Bureau and inadequate response by government officials. Their fight may result in the recall of Gov. Tom Milliken and the dismissal of other state officials.

The problem began in mid-1973 when a fire-retardant containing PBB (poly brominated biphenyl) was accidentally mixed with cattle feed and sold to farmers throughout the state. The contamination

was not discovered until May 1974. Since then 40,000 cows, sheep and pigs have been destroyed because of high levels of PBB.

The Michigan Farm Bureau, which distributed the contaminated feed, has already paid about \$40 million in claims to 600 farmers. Marilyn and Roy Tacoma of Falmouth, Mich., have refused, however, to accept what they call a "token" settlement and are suing for \$1 million. Their lawsuit came to court in late February.

The Michigan Chemical Co. produces both the fire-retardant and magnesium oxide, the usual feed additive. The Tacoma's suit charges that the products were manufactured less than 50 feet apart, and that loading dock employees were never instructed as to the differences between them.

In addition, the fire retardant was packaged in poorly-labeled bags that looked similar to the feed additive. After the retardant was mistakenly shipped, the company falsified records to hide the missing amounts, the suit charges.

When the retardant arrived at the Farm Bureau, at least three employees noticed the different names but were told to inventory both products as the same. The suit further charges that the Bureau knew the two products had been mixed but failed to take any steps to avoid the resulting contamination. In 1973 the Bureau received complaints from farmers who bought the feed but did not try to determine the cause.

According to the *Detroit Free Press*, the problem was further compounded by the Michigan Agricultural department. It did not begin testing meat sold to the public until January 1975—seven months after they were aware of the poisoning.

Acriculture director B. Dale Ball also saw no reason to warn every farmer to keep contaminated products off the grocery store shelves. "We assume that farmers can read and read the papers," Ball says. "I can't mail something to every farmer in the state. He can test the same as we can if he's concerned."

Both farmers and consumers suffered from the department's failures. Some contaminated herds were not discovered for

two and one-half years after the initial poisoning and Michigan consumers are reportedly still eating meat contaminated with PBB. One test found that nearly 10 percent of the state's citizens have PBB levels higher than is allowed in food.

The United Auto Workers have called on Ball to resign and have accused the administration of Gov. Tom Milliken of "negligence and incompetence" in dealing with the PBB affair.

Another organization, the PBB Action Committee, has begun a campaign to recall Milliken. "We want that governor out of office because he hasn't done his job," says committee vice-president Lewis Trombley. "He hasn't protected the farmer, he hasn't protected the consumer." In April the committee plans to march on Lansing, the state capitol, to press their demands.

We know how to do these things

A federal energy official has suggested that the nation "may have to limit the ability" of consumer and environmental groups to hold up "critically needed" energy projects. Speaking in Philadelphia on Feb. 2, Philip C. White, assistant director of the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), said that the country "cannot afford" delays like that incurred in starting the Alaska pipeline. "We know now that we can do most of these things with minimal impact," said White.

Several weeks earlier, however, a fish and game biologist for the state of Alaska charged that sloppy and hurried work on the Alaska pipeline has resulted in blocked and polluted streams, large oil spills and permanent damage to the permafrost. According to Charles Kay, who is part of a team monitoring the pipeline, state and federal officials are aware of the environmental damage but are keeping quiet so the project can be rushed to completion.

In his remarks before the Chemical Marketing Research Association, Philip White also expressed fear that ERDA's plans to bury nuclear wastes in some states

might run into opposition from environmentalists. "If we are blocked by people who are emotionally exposed, we are not going to solve this nuclear problem," he said.

Observers of the nuclear power controversy point out, however, that there have been numerous instances where nuclear wastes have leaked from burial sites, angering citizens whose lives are endangered by the increase in radioactivity. In Vermont, for example, 83,000 gallons of liquid radioactive waste was spilled into the Connecticut River last July. On March 2, 31 Vermont communities voted in town meetings to oppose the burial of nuclear wastes within their borders.

Similar leakages of nuclear waste have occurred in New York, Colorado, Kentucky, and dumping sites in the Pacific Ocean.

The dangers of LNG

In October 1944 a tremendous explosion ripped through the streets of downtown Cleveland, Ohio, flattening 29 acres of the city and destroying 80 homes and factories. One reporter described the "rivers of fire" that ignited homes "like a string of firecrackers." Temperatures of up to 3000 degrees were created in the explosion, incinerating people and even birds in flight. When the devastation was assessed, 131 people had been killed and another 300 injured.

The cause of the explosion: the leakage of some one million gallons of liquified natural gas (LNG) from a storage tank. Before being ignited, the LNG had run through the city's streets and crept into the sewers.

LNG is the product of cryogenics, a relatively new technology for turning natural gas into a liquid for easy transportation. While this technique has come a long way since the Cleveland holocaust, scientists and other observers believe that it is still at a primitive level. Some also say that the widespread use of LNG may present an unwarranted health hazard.

Several locations in Southern California are now being considered for facilities that would store LNG transported from Alaska and then turn it back into usable form. Gov. Jerry Brown of California, who says that construction of an LNG facility must begin early next year if the state is to avoid a serious energy shortage by the mid-1980s, is trying to push through a final decision by circumventing the local governments where facilities might be built.

Because of its comparative isolation on the California coast, the most likely site is Port Conception in Santa Barbara county. Environmentalists and Santa Barbara citizens have long opposed the plan. Some point out that escaping gas could form into a dense cloud and float 50 miles—to nearby cities—before igniting. "The potential danger from an LNG fire is the greatest ever presented in modern society," says Al McCurdy of the county office of environmental quality. He is now conducting an environmental impact report.

The Point Conception Preservation Committee has been formed to counter Gov. Brown's "emergency" moves. Committee-head Philip Marking questions the need for additional gas supplies. "We don't need this thing," he says. "It would supply only about 20 percent of California's needs. This amount can easily be made up from other sources. The consumer is actually paying for the construction of this LNG plant through our bills and now is the time we should be putting our money into alternative energy sources such as solar heating."

The county board of supervisors is also up in arms. They have protested Gov. Brown's attempts to by-pass local input into the project, calling this "an indefensible abrogation of our legislated responsibility to protect the health and safety of this county."

—Compiled by Dan Marschall

IN THE WORLD

Gandhi had no surprises left

Special to
in These Times
from New Delhi

By Jas Saund

New Delhi. In the Indian capital of New Delhi these days there is a lot of talk about "forgiving and forgetting" the "excesses" committed during the administration of former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Some members of the new ruling group named Janata party have joined this chorus of "forgiving and forgetting."

The new government has not taken a firm stand one way or the other—the attitude of the new Prime Minister is ambivalent at best. Some members of Desai's cabinet have criticized this new chorus of "forgive and forget," and they have promised action against those who committed the "excesses" during the previous regime.

The current minister of communications Socialist party head George Fernandes, who was only released from jail after the election, told a huge victory rally:

"Can we forgive them for making lies into the truth? Can we forget that 14-year-old boys have been forcibly sterilized and that Indira Gandhi tried to end a whole generation? Can we forgive?" The crowd yelled, "Never, Never!" And he shouted back that there would be no injustice, everybody would be given a fair trial, and if there were not enough courts then special tribunals could be set up.

He said that he did not believe in kicking people when they were down, but injustices must never be "forgiven and forgotten." If the new government also talked in this vein, it was perhaps thinking of afterwards, when it might have to ask for the same kind of forgiveness.

►A master of surprises surprised.

Madam Gandhi was a master of surprises. She had always been able to catch her opponents at their weakest moment. So when she called for the elections to the parliament last January, she thought that she would win. Most of the opposition leaders and the activists were in jails, and they were disoriented and disorganized.

It was obvious from the beginning of this campaign that Gandhi's Congress party was a shaky starter and that the opposition, a combination of the old guard, the populists, the socialists and the small farmers, had got hold of issues that had touched the lives of almost every citizen during her dictatorship. The opposition gave voice to the public resentment against forced sterilization, widespread demolition of urban slums, mass bulldozing of shanty towns to make room for "development" and the bullets for those who resisted. This resentment was so widespread that at times during the campaign audiences either refused to listen to the Congress candidates or sat through their speeches silently.

Towards the end of the campaign the Congress party members began to realize that they were in trouble. This was especially true in the northern states of India where a majority of the Indian electorate lives. In order to counter this wave of people's resentment, senior cabinet members of the government started offering their apologies for the "excesses." Gandhi said that to err was human.

But the people were neither prepared to forgive nor ready to forget. They were determined to teach the ruling super-humans the first lesson in democracy.

►One emergency after another.

Since 1947 when the British left, India has lived from one emergency to another.

Janata party headquarters was so small you couldn't hold a decent church service in it. By comparison the Congress party headquarters looked bigger than a maharaja's palace. As the election results started pouring in, the faces of Janata party workers started lighting up.



Moraji Desai, the new Indian prime minister.

Photo by UPI

There was an emergency during 1948-52 to put down "communist agitators." Then there was war with China in 1962 and the emergency was imposed once again. The China emergency was partially lifted in 1969, but the emergency was reimposed again in 1970 during the Bangladesh war. So when Gandhi imposed internal emergency on June 25th 1975, India was already governed by an emergency.

With each emergency came progressive curtailment of civil liberties, restrictions on the trade union activities and an increase in expenditures on internal security agencies—India's biggest growth industry. The over-all budget of these security agencies is a secret, but the budget of federal police alone has gone up by at least 20 times—from \$10 million in 1955 to \$200 million in 1975. That may look small by U.S. standards, but remember that India is a very poor country.

While the government was trying to rule India by imposing one emergency after another, the nation's economy went from bad to worse. Heavy emphasis on the industry in the urban areas spelled disaster for the neglected countryside. Farm prices did not keep up with the increased prices of irrigation water, fertilizers, seeds, gasoline and electricity. Land reforms were passed but were either not implemented or were sabotaged at local levels by an alliance of the landlords, the bureaucracy and the Congress politicians.

By early 1974, the economy was coming to a standstill. Shortages of essential goods like cement, coal, steel, gasoline, machinery were rampant, hoarding of basic foodstuff became a fact of life, urban unemployment was rising fast, and the inflation was out of hand, but Congress party members were either too busy fighting among themselves over the spoils or were engaged in making money through the corrupt practices.

The students and the youths of the Eastern state of Bihar, where the poverty is unbelievable even by Indian standards, were first to rebel against the government corruption. They tried to put pressure on the government through demonstrations, rallies, militant civil disobedience and strikes. The government responded with mass arrests. By May 1975 this student and the youth movement had spread to the northern, the western and the eastern parts of India. Gandhi's political opponents and even some of her supporters, sensing the mass base of the movement, advocated a "dialog" with these young rebels. But

Gandhi would have none of this "dialog" business.

►Convicted of electoral malpractices.

In June 1975 a state supreme court convicted Gandhi on two counts of electoral malpractice and barred her from holding any public office for six years. When she refused to step down, the combined opposition of professional politicians, trade unionists and rebellious youth called for a week of non-cooperation, demonstrations and rallies to force her to quit. Gandhi surprised her opponents by arresting them in hundreds of thousands overnight before they could regroup and launch their movement.

With the emergency came the strict press censorship, a ban on all strikes, a wage freeze for all workers, the forced sterilization campaign to control population, mass bulldozing of the slums to make room for the fashionable "developments," and bullets for those who resisted. Nobody knows for certain how many people died resisting the emergency. Some put their numbers in hundreds, others in thousands.

While all this was going on, big business houses like the Tatas and the Birlas doubled their assets in 18 months. The Birlas were worth about \$750 million at the start of the emergency in June 1975, today they are worth at least \$1.6 billion. Big business liked the government's no-nonsense attitude towards the strikers and those seeking wage-hikes.

The World Bank was so impressed by the government's claim of negative inflation (-3.2 percent) achieved through the industrial peace and by the government's "sincere" effort to control population, that India became the World Bank's favorite child overnight. In its annual 1976 report, Robert McNamara's bank praised India's effort to control the population in no uncertain terms. On the day Indian people went to the polls, a local newspaper carried a front-page story that the World Bank had agreed to loan \$3 billion to India over the next three years.

►Vigilance at the ballot box.

During her election campaign Madam Gandhi said that if the opposition came to power then there will be anarchy in the streets and the country will fall apart. She claimed that she was a progressive leader and that her opponents were nothing but a bunch of right-wing reactionaries.

The government propaganda billboards all over the country proclaimed that ex-

ports had gone up by 36 percent in one year, that half a million more peasants can now read and write, and that one million more trees were planted last year.

On election day the turnout was heavy, especially in the rural countryside. There were fears of rigging and other election frauds, but that became almost impossible because people kept a sharp eye on the ballot boxes.

In the northwest state of Punjab, which has a proud martial tradition, the opposition cadres guarded the ballot boxes with swords drawn to avoid tampering by the ruling party. In the neighboring state of Haryana, retired army men organized the vigilance of ballot boxes. These former soldiers trained about 50 young men in every electoral district "to guard against the enemy crossing the battle line." After the polling was over they were detailed to follow vehicles carrying ballot boxes and check the place thoroughly where ballot boxes were deposited. They were warned beforehand not to take any chances because the "enemy was treacherous and was waiting for an opportunity to attack."

Only in the eastern state of Bengal some selective rigging took place, but even there Gandhi's party won only one seat. The atmosphere in the capital on the night of March 20 was tense. Very few people went to sleep early. People wandered around with their ears glued to their tiny transistor radios and listened to the latest election results. Nobody knew for sure who was going to win.

Janata party headquarters is so small you couldn't hold a decent church service in it. By comparison the Congress party headquarters looked bigger than a maharaja's palace. As the election results started pouring in, the faces of Janata party workers started lighting up. There was such a glow and shine on their faces that you did not need any electricity to provide light.

As the news of Madam Gandhi's defeat came around three in the morning, there was dancing and singing in the streets. A carnival atmosphere prevailed, but then doubts began to prevail:

Does this mean Gandhi is finished or is she up to some new tricks again? Everybody in the streets had this question on their minds. But this time there will be no surprises. Madam Gandhi had no surprises left in her store. All she can ask from the Indian people was "forgiveness." Will they oblige her? ■

THE MIDDLE EAST

Part III of IV

Arabs in Israel: "We will stay"

Nazareth. Nearly 30 years have passed since Israel's founders, to use the Biblical idiom, drove the Palestinians of Jaffa, Haifa, Galilee, and the Negev out from before them. Yet even within the borders established then—which the Arab states may now be prepared to accept—the problem of the two peoples has not gone away. In many ways the problem of Israel's Palestinian minority poses a far greater threat now to the cause of Zionism, and to its ideals, than it did in 1948.

Indeed, the major threat to Zionist aspiration today may no longer be external Arab hostility, but the existence of a large, well-organized and unassimilable non-Jewish population within Israel itself. It affects everything from the attitudes of Israeli youth, who increasingly regard menial labor as "Arab" work, to Israel's democratic stability. Within Israel's multi-party system, the danger always exists of the Palestinian members of the Knesset gaining the balance of power.

The problem is visible almost everywhere inside Israel, from the Palestinians sweeping the streets of Haifa to the *de facto* segregation of the Jerusalem school system. But nowhere is the discrepancy between military success and political failure more conspicuous—and more ominous for hopes of a permanent peace settlement—than in northern Israel.

During the last ten years in that crucial northern area lying between Syria and the sea and between the West Bank and Lebanon, the Palestinians of Israel have developed from a politically powerless minority into an increasingly potent but unassimilable group within the boundaries of Israel itself.

The Palestinians today comprise nearly half the population of the entire northern region of Israel. By next year, the Israelis fear, the Palestinians will become a majority. As even the Israelis themselves now point out, this demographic defeat could in time render most of Israel's victories on the battlefield meaningless.

While the Jewish population of Israel is

PALESTINIANS
THE MIDEAST'S NEW JEWS?

Photo by MERIP

increasing today at a rate of 1.5 percent per year, the non-Jewish population is increasing at a rate of 5.9 percent. Since 1948, the non-Jewish population has grown from 150,000 to nearly 450,000 in a nation of 3.5 million people.

In 1974, the Jewish population of Western Galilee and the Jezreel valley in the north increased by 759 persons, while the Palestinian population grew by 9,035.

►Discriminatory, martial law tactics.

In an official report made public last September Israel Koenig, governor of the northern region of Israel, warned that the Palestinians in that region were steadily gaining power "through methods that were followed by the Jewish settlers before the creation of the state." Not only, he complained, were the Palestinians winning control of more and more municipal governments by peaceful, legal means, but "organized operations for the purchase by Arabs of real estate in the northern areas" were beginning to threaten Jewish predominance there.

Gov. Koenig also lamented the growing Palestinian proclivity for higher education. He found particularly ominous a Palestinian "hunger strike in front of the United Nations headquarters, as some people are doing with regard to the Jews in the USSR."

Koenig's recommendations for dealing with non-Jewish Israeli citizens were similar to policies outlined by Israeli Gen. David Maimon for policing the Palestinian refugees of the Gaza Strip. Higher education for Palestinians, Koenig argued, should be discouraged. Government agents should infiltrate legal political parties in which Palestinians were active. Palestinian leaders who threatened Jewish interests should be removed from public life and replaced by officials willing to serve Jewish interests.

Taxes on non-Jewish Israelis should be increased so as to deprive them of disposable income for real estate purchases and capital investment. Employers should be required to give preference to Jews over non-Jews. Palestinian refugees who left

the country should have "obstacles placed in the way of their return and obtaining work in Israel."

Welfare benefits should be made available "exclusively to Jewish families." In areas with large non-Jewish populations, the government should "increase the Jewish population in all social categories," with the aim of making Galilee "loyal to Jewish society."

After its publication, nearly all the Israeli political parties disavowed Koenig's report, but the government refused to respond to demands for Koenig's dismissal, or to repudiate the policies he recommended.

►"We do not intend to leave."

The Palestinians within Israel are determined to stay. "We will never repeat the mistakes that produced the historical catastrophe of 1948," a Palestinian resident of Jerusalem said recently. "We will never flee and leave them empty lands to claim as their own. Let them annex the city and fly the Israeli flag here forever. I will stay, my sons and grandsons will stay, whatever they do to us."

And in Nazareth, Mayor Taufiq Zayyad said in a recent interview that even if a Palestinian state were established on the West Bank, the Palestinian minority in that part of Israel would remain where it was. "We naturally do not intend to leave our country," he said, "for we are a part of it."

In this sense, the Palestinian problem inside Israel, like the Palestinian problem in the Occupied Territories, is not merely one that lacks a military solution. It is, for Israel, a problem within its own borders for which there may be no solution at all.

T.D. Allman, a member of St. Antony's College in Oxford, England, recently completed a research fellowship at the Council on Foreign Relations. He has written on the Middle East and Indochina since the early 1970s for such publications as the *New York Times*, *Manchester Guardian* and *Le Monde diplomatique*.

Report from an Arab village in North Israel

By Leonard Helfgott

Haifa. Compared with the Jewish immigrant settlements of crowded, white concrete apartment houses rising out of nowhere to form towns, the Arab villages are strikingly spacious. Houses stand alone on stilts, merging with the hilly terrain, suggesting an organic interconnection between their inhabitants and the earth. Indeed, Israeli authorities chastize village architectural style, claiming there is not enough room to continue this kind of construction. But continue it does as the Arabs refuse to adopt high-rise living.

"R" is a Muslim Arab village of about 4,000 located in central Galilee. Its inhabitants form part of a massive Arab majority in the rural Galilee—250,000 Arabs to 60,000 Jews. Its problems are a microcosm of Arab/Jewish tension in Israel and vary from wrestling more water from an unresponsive bureaucracy to coming to grips with Palestinian nationalism.

Some villagers still work their own lands, but as a result of government policies of expropriating Arab lands, more and more of R's farmers and their children work as agricultural day-laborers and in nearby urban jobs. R's men and women work in Jewish-owned fields, on buildings that will house Jews and Jewish businesses, as domestics, as mailmen, as street cleaners.

A village council of nine members governs R. The council members come from the traditional village patriarchy—heads of wealthier, landowning families—and have cooperated with the ruling Labor party since the formation of the state in 1948 in return for patronage—in Israeli terms, "protexia."

►Under attack from young radicals.

The council is presently under attack by younger, more radical villagers connected either to the Communist party—Rakah—or to the non-aligned Arab left. There are about 20 Rakah members and a loose organization of about 60 men called the Democratic Coalition that gets its driving force from a core group of about ten men that calls itself *abne al-Balad*, the Sons of the Village. None of the Rakah or coalition members seem over 40, and although some come from well-placed families all oppose continued village domination by the traditional village elite.

This younger village force emerged as a result of increased contact with the outside world through urban jobs, higher educational levels, and the development of the Palestinian movement. Its politics mix the larger issues of socialism and Palestinian nationalism with the attempt to win improvements in their village from the Israeli state.

On a national level, Rakah receives the bulk of Arab support because it articulates social and political issues in a non-Zionist framework. In a general way, the Communists speak for the national interests of the Israeli Arabs within the state framework.

In addition, Rakah performs valuable services for individual Arabs. For example, it sends promising Arab students to Russian and Eastern European universities where they can take courses of study, like engineering or medicine, that are difficult to pursue in Israeli universities. Two recent high school graduates from R will attend an Eastern European university next year.

But Rakah is unable to change policies or to effect the immediate well-being of

Arab communities. Thus, most Arabs will vote Rakah in the national election, but will support candidates for local office strictly on the basis of whether they can promise to improve village conditions.

►Fears of expulsion.

The immediate village complaints include the inadequate roads and school system, arbitrary cutoffs of the town water supply, and the impossibility of getting municipal loans for village improvement—Israeli redlining. But probably the biggest issue is that the government has just approved plans for constructing a large factory on a hill overlooking the village.

The villagers fear the factory will bring with it further land expropriation, pollution, and the bisecting of village lands by approach roads. To make matters worse, the factory's location was changed to R after similar complaints from Jewish kibbutzim close to its previously planned location.

The factory is part of a government plan to industrialize the Galilee, which the Arabs fear as a plan to expel them from the region. These fears took on a much more concrete form last year with the publication of the secret Koenig report which recommended expelling Arabs from the Galilee to ensure a Jewish majority, and the killing of six Arabs last year in response to a Land Day demonstration protesting the stepped-up expropriation of Arab lands.

►Closer to PLO.

Israel's inability or unwillingness to allow for full equality between Arab and Jewish citizens has moved the Israeli Arab community ideologically much closer to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The call for a secular, democratic Palestine is now heard in village meetings throughout Israel.

The identification with the PLO is not merely rhetorical. In addition to the obvious national and emotional connections to Palestinian nationalism, many Israeli Arabs identify with the plight of the refugees, because they also are refugees driven from their villages in 1948. Of the 4,000 population of R, over one-third are not native to the village but come from former neighboring villages appropriated by the government and now worked by kibbutzim or forming part of the land reserves being used to settle more Jews in the Galilee. This situation is repeated in Arab villages throughout Israel.

Practically, however, the Israeli Arabs are neither joining the PLO nor organizing mass political actions toward the aim of a secular, democratic state. Rather they are caught between the rhetoric of the PLO, the logical extension of which is armed struggle, the practical problems of second-class citizenship in Israel and the fear that the formation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza will provide the Israeli authorities the needed impetus to intensify policies aimed at ridding Israel of its half-million Arabs.

The Arabs fear that the ruling elites would like nothing more than to shunt them across a green, red, black or blue line in the context of a two-state solution that includes the type of economic integration that perpetuates the growing proletarian role of Arabs in Israel. Thus, their political practice remains hesitant, confused and divided and their prospects for the near future become dimmer week by week.

Leonard Helfgott is a visiting professor at the University of Haifa.

BRITAIN

Liberals grant Labour a last reprieve

By Mervyn Jones

"Jim Has Fixed It" proclaimed the headline in the London *Evening Standard* as news broke March 23 that Prime Minister Callaghan and Liberal leader David Steel had agreed on terms that will allow the government to stay in office, at least until this fall. Callaghan has long enjoyed a reputation for political finesse and ingenuity, but whether the deal will ultimately be regarded as a brilliant achievement or a counter-productive sacrifice of principle remains to be seen.

One's mind goes back to 1975 when Callaghan's predecessor, Harold Wilson, addressed the Labour party conference. Despite Labour's wafer-thin majority, he promised there would be no deals with the Liberals, or anyone else. Delegates roared their applause. Shouting above the cheers, Wilson added: "That is that, and so long as I lead this party, that will remain that." Six months later he retired. Was the approach of an unpleasant choice—between loss of power and renegeing on this pledge—among his reasons?

► "I'm terribly disappointed."

Labour's majority vanished in 1976 with the loss of two by-elections. Three Labour seats are now vacant. In one—the Stechford district of Birmingham—polling takes place on March 31, and the result will be the first indication of reactions by Labour voters to the deal with the Liberals. Roy Jenkins, once Labour's deputy leader and now in Brussels as president of the European Commission, held the seat since 1950. Thousands of Stechford voters work in Leyland auto plants, halted from mid-February to mid-March by a strike of skilled workers whose wages have been eroded by inflation. The strike has been ended by a management agreement to talk to the workers about their grievances, but the talks have so far yielded nothing and the strike may be resumed.

Accompanying the Labour candidate in doorstep canvassing, I found him getting a rough time from people who voted Labour in 1974. A man who had been a construction foreman, but has been unemployed for a year, said he would vote Labour again to keep out the Tories but declared: "I'm terribly disappointed. This government has really chopped the construction industry, hasn't it?" A few doors along, a Leyland worker said flatly that he wouldn't vote. "The unions have kept their share of the bargain, but what has the government done to hold down prices? You tell me." The candidate's explanations about the fall in the pound and rising import prices made little impression.

Stechford may be held, but Grimsby—represented by Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland until his recent death—is a likely Tory gain. Labour's minority position will undoubtedly continue for the remainder of this Parliament.

► Liberals gain a veto.

It was the Liberals, ironically, who put the government into acute danger by voting with the Tories to prevent the government time-table powers to put through the bill granting autonomy to Scotland and Wales. As I reported in *IN THESE TIMES*, the nationalists—who had voted with the government in the hope of getting the bill through—reacted by saying that this Parliament is now useless to them; and they will seek to force an election.

Tory leader Margaret Thatcher took the earliest opportunity to put down a motion of no confidence. She was sure of the Nationalist votes, but needed the Liberals in order to win. Callaghan set himself to buy off the Liberals, and succeeded after three cliff-hanging days of negotiations behind closed doors.

The deal provides for regular talks between Labour and Liberal leaders to discuss government policy. There are other concessions on specific issues (on these, Callaghan can claim to have had the best

Many in the Labour party consider that there is no point in having a Labour government unless it pursues socialist policies; these, of course, are just the policies that the Liberals will veto.



of the bargaining but consultation is the heart of the matter). The Liberals gain a veto on the government's actions, since they remain free to act as they please should the outcome of any discussion not satisfy them.

Thatcher was justified in charging that this was an agreement between two parties equally scared of an election. Opinion polls now give the Tories a massive lead over Labour, and a government that has actually been brought down (a rare event in Britain) would stand little chance at the polls. The Liberals have not fully recovered from the scandals that rocked the party last year and might lose several of their 13 seats.

► Deal viewed with suspicion.

The deal, however, is bound to be viewed with suspicion by supporters of both parties involved. First, a look at the Liberals. Many still cherish dreams of an independent breakthrough at the polls, for which they have toiled over the years. Many, too, are devout believers in free enterprise and closer to the Tories than to Labour in political philosophy; they will see any tie-up with "socialism" as a betrayal.

Steel is an untried leader, chosen in a close contest less than a year ago, and vulnerable on several fronts. Some of his MPs say frankly that he's on probation; he may have a rough ride at his next conference; and desertion by financial backers may leave the Liberals short of funds. Of 200 phone calls to Liberal headquarters on the day of the deal, only four approved. In Labour ranks, the memories that will

surely be stirred are those of the deepest trauma in Labour history—Ramsay MacDonald's deal with the Tories and Liberals in 1931. Many in the party consider that there is no point in having a Labour government unless it pursues socialist policies; these, of course, are just the policies that the Liberals will veto.

While in Stechford on the day when the deal was in the balance, I talked with a man who has worked for 32 years as a party organizer in South Wales. His job brings him into constant touch with rank-and-file opinion. He told me emphatically that there would be no backing for any deal.

The secrecy of the Callaghan/Steel talks will evoke criticism, too. Callaghan avoided summoning the party's National Executive Committee, elected partly from party branches and partly from union representatives, though it could easily have been called during the crucial weekend. It would have opposed the deal, of course. Even the Cabinet was not consulted until three and a half hours before the debate opened in Commons. Reliable press reports say that four ministers objected, but there have been no resignations.

► Bricks for toilet paper.

Veteran left-wing MP Ian Mikardo immediately drew up a statement that was signed by 50 Labour MPs within hours. They said: "We do not consider ourselves bound in any way to the implementation of the whole or any part of the arrangement entered into between the Cabinet and the Liberal party." The wording is

significant; in their eyes, the party to the deal is the Cabinet, not the Labour party as such.

The arrangement, according to the Callaghan/Steel statement, is to last for the rest of this parliamentary session, which ends in November. So far as can be forecast in this very fluid situation, the government is safe for that period. Then, says the statement, "both parties would consider whether the experiment has been of sufficient benefit to the country to be continued."

The further outlook is just what Labour people will view with maximum suspicion. What Steel wants is a deal that would bring the two parties into the next election as allies, on terms giving the Liberals 40 or 50 Commons seats—either through Labour abstention in certain areas, or through a change to a proportional voting system that is a central plank in Liberal policy. That would rule out any prospect of a clear Labor majority, and hence of any kind of socialist policies.

There was an old story—true, maybe—about a gun-runner who supplied weapons to the Japanese in Manchuria, to be exchanged for money on a moonless night. The crates, when opened, contained one machine-gun and a lot of bricks. The payment, when opened, contained one bundle of yen bills and a lot of toilet-paper. It's a story I can't help remembering.

Mervyn Jones has worked as assistant editor of the *London Times* and the *New Statesman*. He has recently published a book on Britain's offshore oil industry.



By Max Gordon

Can socialist democracy come to a small island that did not undergo capitalist industrialization, had only a weak parliamentary tradition and is only 90 miles away from, the world's most powerful and dangerous capitalist power? The socialist government of Cuba is trying to find out.

After being governed for 18 years under authority derived primarily from popular support for Fidel Castro and his associates, Cuba has begun to introduce formal democracy—to "institutionalize its revolution." Elections for national, provincial and local governments were completed last year, in accordance with a constitution ratified by national referendum.

Direct elections were held for the 169 municipal assemblies, which in turn elected the provincial assemblies and the National Assembly. (Municipalities parallel our counties, and provinces our states.) The National Assembly named a Council of State and a Council of Ministers to serve as the nation's executive organs and a head of state—Castro.

The elections were not *pro forma*. Two or more nominees were advanced for each of the 10,743 municipal assembly delegate posts, about 70 percent of the electorate participated in the nominating process and over 95 percent voted in the elections.

►Moral exhortation not enough.

Several explanations have been offered for the long delay in institutionalizing the revolution. In the early 1960s Castro was even urged by the Russians to hold elections, which no one doubted he could win handily. He refused on the ground that the Cuban people, through their experience, had no use for or confidence in the ballot. Reportedly, he feared that formal government structures would give rise to a bureaucratic elite, as in other socialist countries, and wanted to hold off until he could determine how to avoid this.

Raul Castro, Fidel's brother, argued that an adequate economic base had to be established to permit newly-elected political organs to fulfill their roles; otherwise, these organs would be discredited. Others maintained that a certain level of political maturation had to be achieved before institutionalization could succeed.

The official explanation, which does not contravene the above, is that the revolution had to be consolidated first through building of mass popular organizations, particularly in the light of economic blockade and subversion by the U.S. The process was completed in 1965 but instead of ushering in formal democracy, was followed by a period of utopianism, of idealist notions that elements of communism could be introduced by sheer will power, even while socialism was under construction. Moral exhortation was considered sufficient for development of an efficient workforce; telephone service and water supply were made free; free housing and even the abolition of money were contemplated.

This concept had its climax in the drive for a 10 million ton sugar harvest in 1970—about double previous harvests. While the 8.5 million tons realized was a record, the nation's entire economy was disrupted in achieving it. In addition, the free telephone service had so overburdened the system that it later had to be abandoned.

These developments led in late 1970 to a reconsideration of the policies of the previous five years, which were characterized as idealist, and to a determination to place future policies on what was described as a materialist basis. Included was the decision to proceed with institutionalizing the revolution.

Castro took personal responsibility for the failure associated with the 10 million ton sugar drive, and was critical of his ability to make one-man decisions. Institutionalization was conceived as a means of subjecting plans and policies to procedural, collective examination and determination.

►Checks on bureaucratic power.

The constitution—debated in mass organizations for about three years before being approved by the Communist party's first convention in December 1975 and then

ratified by national referendum—provides for municipal, provincial and national assemblies that combine legislative and executive functions. Municipal assembly delegates were elected last fall from voting districts into which the municipalities were divided, each comprising about 500 to 600 voters.

Nominations were made at neighborhood meetings called in the cities by the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs), or block associations, and by the Association of Small Farmers (ANAP) in all rural areas. Biographies and pictures of all nominees in the voting district were displayed in places where people congregate and biographies were read at meetings for six weeks before the election. There was no other electioneer-

ing. As Castro put it, positions were not sought and citizens did not run for office; neither wealth nor family, nor publicity and propaganda should determine government roles.

Plainly, however, the election campaign also did not debate election issues or hinge upon a candidate's position on them. Fundamental policy matters—the constitution, the new Family Code establishing equality of the sexes, material vs. moral incentives and others—had previously been debated in the mass organizations—the trade unions, the Federation, as well as in the CDRs and ANAP—though this was not institutionalized. Presumably, the practice will continue even if outside the electoral process.

Municipal and provincial assemblies

have elected executive committees to oversee the work of the various administrative departments for which the assemblies are responsible. Except for some executive members, delegates to the municipal and provincial assemblies continue working at their regular jobs. So, too, do most national deputies. They receive no pay as delegates or deputies. They are also expected to act as liaison between the assembly and their constituents and, in the case of the municipal delegates, as ombudsmen for their constituents. They are subject to recall by their constituents, and it is expected that there will be such recalls. Municipal delegates are required to set specific hours each week when they will be available to their constituents.

The municipal and regional assemblies are expected to serve as checks on arbitrary, bureaucratic power since their members are unpaid, maintain their workplace associations and must be responsive to their constituents, who can recall them at any time. The trade unions, the CDRs and the Women's Federation each with over a million members, ANAP and the Youth Federation are also expected to act as checks on government bureaucracy.

During 1976 a national campaign was conducted to encourage citizens' insistence upon the political and individual rights guaranteed by the constitution. The Cubans, unlike other Soviet bloc countries, take their new constitution very seriously. Yet some questions remain concerning Cuba's socialist democracy.

►A one-party state.

The Cuban Communist party's power to control popular expression and electoral choice appears to be more circumscribed than in other Soviet bloc countries. The party was barred from intervening in the municipal assembly nominations and elections, and the party is restricted to broad political activity and policy-making, leaving the management of the government and the economy to constituted public bodies with substantial citizen participation.

But its relation to higher government organs nevertheless remains unclear. The one-party system was doubtless justified by the nature of the pre-1959 regime, Washington's sustained economic and political efforts at subversion, and low level development, but there has been no suggestion of change when conditions permit.

There is also no debate or discussion concerning policy matters in the public press. Though differences are known to exist in leading bodies, citizens have no publicity channels through which to express their views. The only two newspapers are the organs of the Communist party and the Communist Youth League. They do not carry criticism of government policy or practice, even to the circumscribed extent of the Soviet press. It is proposed to publish party papers in each province that will air citizens' criticisms and complaints, but the channels for free policy discussion still appear to be nonexistent.

Finally, there is also the matter of political prisoners, about which Cuban leaders are extremely sensitive. Some three years ago Castro said there were 4,000 to 5,000 such prisoners—most for crimes committed during the brutal Batista dictatorship—but many have reportedly been released since then. The figure of 2,000 currently incarcerated has been mentioned, but in face of official reticence there is no way of knowing. Some arrests for major dissent are reportedly still occurring, but again there is no way of knowing their number or nature. Sentences today are said to be light.

To the extent that mass popular support of a regime, and mass popular participation in a nation's political and economic life, defines democracy, Cuban socialism would appear to be markedly democratic—with the indicated important exceptions. A primary question is whether the defense against the corruption of power—about which Castro has repeatedly warned—will be strong enough to hold up, particularly in the light of the country's, and the revolution's, history and the experience of other socialist countries.

Max Gordon is a New York journalist, formerly editor of the *Daily Worker*, who recently visited Cuba.

Cuban elections mark new phase



Photo by R. Suritcer

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On Dec. 2, 1976, Fidel Castro addressed the inaugural session of the National Assembly.

Concerning Cuba's foreign policy, Fidel spoke about recent events in China:

That the most absurd things can happen, even within the bosom of the socialist family and in countries that were among the first to take that glorious and revolutionary road, when principles are neglected, when ideas are lost, when men become gods, when internationalism is abandoned, is evident in the recent history of China. That country, whose heroic and selfless revolutionary victory represented—next to the glorious October Revolution—one of the greatest and most inspiring hopes for all the peoples of the earth, has been the scene of the most brutal betrayal of the world revolutionary

movement. It is not fair to blame those noble and dedicated people, or the Chinese Communists, who have given so many proofs of their heroic virtues and their revolutionary spirit.

How then can the events that took place there be explained? How can the fact that China's international policy has wound up associated with imperialism's most backward forces all over the world be explained: its defense of NATO, its friendship with Pinochet, its criminal complicity with South Africa against the MPLA, its hatred of and its repugnant campaign

against the Soviet Union, its cowardly attack on Cuba—to the extreme of joining with Yankee imperialism's worst spokesmen in presenting Cuba as a threat to the peoples of Latin America, which is like becoming an accomplice in the blockade and infamous policy of imperialist aggression against our homeland?

All that can happen when a corrupt and arrogant clique is able to take over the party, destroy, humiliate and crush the best members and impose its will on an entire nation, based on the strength and prestige that emanates from a deep social revolu-

tion. I have always believed that the founders of a socialist revolutionary process acquire such authority and prestige among their fellow citizens, such far-reaching power, that the unrestricted use of that authority, that prestige and that power can lead to serious error and incredible abuses. And so I think and have always thought that, whatever the individual merits of any man, any evidence of the cult of the personality must be radically avoided; that no man, whatever aptitudes he may be said to have, will ever be superior to the capacity of the collective; that group leadership, unlimited respect for the application of criticism and self-criticism, socialist legality, party and state democracy and discipline and the inviolability of the Marxist-Leninist and socialist standards and basic ideas are the only values which can sustain a truly revolutionary leadership.



By Saul Landau

Secret or semi-secret diplomacy between Cuban Foreign Ministry and U.S. State

department officials has been carried out over the last few years with gradual, almost unnoticeable progress. After Castro signed the skyjacking treaty (1973) messages between the U.S. and Cuba were carried by official and unofficial ambassadors.

But Castro's Angolan intervention ended that practice. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger embarked instead on a punishment policy that probably led indirectly to the bombing of the Cubana airliner last October in which 73 people died. The Ford and Kissinger proclamations, including the charge of "international outlaw," which was thrown at Castro in a presidential speech, gave the go ahead to the exile terrorists.

The Carter victory, hoped for by Castro, has at least provided a cleaner slate on which to begin anew the process of normalization.

► No lessons from war criminals.

The major issues on the Cuban side are: the embargo and U.S. terrorism. The U.S. position has shifted since Carter's victory and its list begins with human rights; troops in Africa are a second thought.

Castro recently acknowledged to CBS correspondent Bill Meyers that he had already withdrawn a sizeable percentage of troops from Angola. But as he later told *Washington Post* editor Ben Bradlee, he did not want any more lectures on human rights from American officials. Many of the people who presided over the napalming and saturation bombing of Vietnam, who tried repeatedly to murder Castro himself and who leveled a war-like policy of blockade against the island still remain in high government positions; Castro does not want moral lessons from assassins and war criminals. Nevertheless, the Americans being held in Cuba on charges ranging from spying to drugs do not constitute a matter of principle for Cuba; they could be released.

Huber Matos, the darling of the right-wing exiles, is a different case. Matos, serving a 20 year sentence for sedition, is called a political prisoner by various rights groupings. Castro insists that Matos is a counter-revolutionary whose crime is far more serious than that of "Amlash," the CIA's name for Major Rolando Cubela, an Agency killer hired to murder Castro.

Cubela, with a high government position and therefore a chance to get at Cuba's leader with some ease, failed and was also sentenced to 20 years. "But," Castro told me, "Cubela only tried to assassinate one man, me. Matos organized an armed uprising inside the army in Camaguey province and had his plan succeeded, thousands would have died."

"The subject of prisoners," continued Castro, "cannot become a subject of discussion or negotiation, but might be a result of negotiation."

"We have our laws and our principles, and we do not expect you to agree with them," he told Meyers, as he had told American visitors in the past. "In our country we don't have what you call freedom. In your country you don't have what we call freedom. For example, of what use is freedom of the press to an illiterate? Or freedom of dissent to a hun-

U.S. cannot dictate terms

The Carter victory has provided a cleaner slate on which to begin anew the normalization process.



gry man? And health care, job security, tranquil retirement—are these not human rights? Under your system everyone is equal; the beggar and Rockefeller enjoy the same rights. We frankly don't see it that way. But we have no wish to try to impose our way on the American leaders. You define freedom to coincide with the needs of the market; our definition begins with the idea that only one class, the workers, those who produce, are represented in the state and in the press." Castro has given this answer to several Americans, and he often concludes that these differences should not get in the way of having relations. "We are neighbors, whether we like it or not, and we, the Cubans, desire to live in peace," he said when Sen. George McGovern visited Cuba some two years ago.

The terms are simple: the U.S. must lift the blockade or a significant part of it and must make proper noises against terrorism. The Cubans, by releasing a couple of Americans and announcing that more than half of their troops have left Angola, would meet Carter's immediate conditions. Following this a long period of bargaining will ensue.

There will arise the question of Guantanamo Base, what Castro calls "an illegal occupation of Cuban national territory," the issue of compensation raised by corporations whose holdings were expropriated and Cuba's counterclaims about the illegal use of the em-

bargo and the ensuing cost to Cuba. Then there is Cuba's support for Puerto Rican independence, a sensitive subject in Washington, and of the CIA's repeated attempts to murder Castro. Family visiting rights for the more than half-million Cubans in the U.S. will also come up for negotiation.

► Solid support for foreign policy.

Time is on Cuba's side. The Revolution has been consolidated, the Communist party is well organized and in clear charge of national and regional life. An electoral system and a definite line of succession will help Cuba avoid problems that the Soviet Union and China have faced when great leaders pass from the scene. The Cuban economy remains both sugar and Soviet oriented, but Castro's ten year investment in schooling has begun to pay dividends. An educated population produces more and organizes better than the one Castro inherited from the hundreds of years of colonial past. Today's Cuban people are strong and healthy, ideologically behind their revolution and their leaders.

While the daily reality of Cuba remains austere, complaints about shortages have not led to dissatisfaction. A Cuban waiter complaining about the coffee shortage explained to me that coffee has been shipped abroad for needed foreign exchange, and that although Comrade Augustinho Neto offered Cuba cof-

fee as a thanks for its help in the liberation of Angola, Castro rightfully turned down the offer. "We did not fight for Angolan liberation to get material rewards," he said. And a senior high school student asked rhetorically: "How would it look to revolutionaries if we helped to win the liberation of Angola and then took a payoff in coffee?"

This level of consciousness has maintained a solid base of support for Castro's foreign policy. Cubans know that they can live without American trade, without American recognition, and with a continual blockade, if they have to.

The U.S. cannot dictate the terms of normalization and both sides know this. The unfolding agreements as they are worked out should produce interesting results. In the meantime, U.S. tourists will begin to trickle into Cuba, and U.S. businessmen will look for markets in which to sell. Cigar smokers will be happier, and when Castro assumes the formal leadership of the non-aligned conference in 1979 he will have deserved the position, both by virtue of his ability to lead Cuba through the torturous years of open U.S. hostility, and because he has not only survived but clearly succeeded in carrying out a Revolution to whose goals most of the third world aspire.

Saul Landau has visited Cuba frequently. He is the producer and director of *Fidel*, a documentary film, and is presently the director of the Transnational Institute in Washington, D.C.

IN THESE TIMES

Guest Editorial

How May Day becomes "loyalty day"

Last week, President Carter declared May 1st to be Loyalty Day, thereby continuing a tradition that began during the height of McCarthyism during the 1950s. At that time, May 1st was declared Law Day as a means of opposing the traditional left-wing labor holiday, celebrated internationally as May Day since 1890. Although, at least since the end of World War II, May Day has been celebrated most widely outside the United States, it was adopted as an international holiday as a gesture of solidarity with the movement for the eight-hour day in the U.S. and was celebrated here by leftists and unionists until the anti-communist hysteria of the Cold War made that all but impossible in the mid-1950s.

The American origins of May Day, and the ties between the American labor movement and the world socialist movement have been forgotten by most people in recent years. In its place, Law Day and now Loyalty Day have been declared as a means of cutting American working people off from their own traditions of struggle and of international working-class solidarity. We are running the following guest editorial to remind our readers of the origins of May Day and to encourage unionists and socialists to revive the traditional meaning of May Day as the best gesture of loyalty both to the working people of the U.S. and to their brothers and sisters throughout the world.

In the United States and Canada Labor Day comes in September but the rest of the world celebrates International Labor Day on May First, dedicating it to the hope that someday workers everywhere can stick together. Both dates arose from American union activities in the 1880s. American radicals for 87 years have joined in both celebrations and feel that in a world market dominated by multinational corporations it would be a good idea for American labor to rescue its old heritage and join in the world celebration and the hope that it implies.

Here is a short account of how American unions generated both Labor Days.

On Tuesday, Sept. 5, 1882, a parade of 10,000 men, mostly young and wearing bowler hats, paraded to Wendel's Elm Park in New York City where they met with their women folk and children to hold a picnic. They carried banners reading:

"Close the Stores at 6."

"Labor Will Be United."

"Less Work and More Pay."

The picnic had grown out of a resolution adopted May 14 by the young Central Labor Union to hold "a monster labor festival" in September. Grounds were rented for Sept. 5, the date that the Knights of Labor were to convene in New York. The labor press and papers friendly to labor promoted the idea. On Aug. 6 the Central Labor Union proclaimed Sept. 5 to be "a general holiday for the workingmen of this city."

In 1883 the Central Labor Union again set Sept. 5, this time a Wednesday, for a similar celebration. In 1884 it resolved that "The Central Labor Union herewith declares and will observe the first Monday in September as Labor Day." Later that year the national conventions of the Knights of Labor and of the trade union federation adopted similar resolutions in the hope that observances across the continent on the same day would draw attention to the aims of organized labor.

On Feb. 21, 1887, Oregon adopted the first Monday in September as Labor Day, a state holiday. A few months later Colorado, New York and New Jersey followed suit. In other states unions observed Labor Day also, often under the threat that those who took off would be fired. It was



• A GARLAND FOR MAY DAY 1895 •
• DEDICATED TO THE WORKERS BY WALTER CRANE •



Edwin Rowe, *The Great Battle of Homestead: Defeat and Capture of the Pinkerton Invaders, July 6th, 1892.* (Courtesy Library of Congress)

a propitious date for such a celebration—about midway between July 4 and Thanksgiving, and an appropriate time for politicians to launch their November election campaigns. Some trades already had won Saturday afternoons off, and this first holiday to come always on a Monday let them end summer with a bang. On Jan. 28, 1894, without debate, Congress made it a national holiday by enacting it for federal workers and the District of Columbia.

Meanwhile on May 1, 1890, workers in Europe celebrated World Labor Day for the first time, and it has been observed on that date ever since, without legal sanction. That date had been set at the meeting of the Second Socialist International in Paris on the centenary of the Fall of the Bastille, and May 1 was select-

ed at the request of Samuel Gompers who was seeking support for the 8-hour day movement in the U.S.

Until recent decades May Day celebrations had a militant international aspect absent from September Labor Days. Back in 1889 European workers knew that the agitation for an 8-hour day had to be international to face the objection in each nation that to adopt it would chase jobs to countries that worked a longer day.

In Berlin 20,000 of the city's 300,000 workers demonstrated despite police interference and solemn assurance that all demonstrators would lose their jobs. In Italian cities the militia attacked demonstrators, but Vienna reported a gay celebration with no conflicts. In London the celebration was postponed to Sunday when 2,000 gathered to sing songs from

William Morris' 1888 *Chants of Labour* and to hear Karl Marx's son-in-law, Paul Lafargue.

May First 1890 drew such attention to "the labor problem" that the Socialist International made it an annual affair. How it came to fall on May 1 was explained 33 years later by Samuel Gompers in his autobiography, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*. The campaign of American unions to establish the 8-hour day had met only moderate success. Building trade contracts were customarily made each spring, either with a settlement before May 1, or prospects of a strike on that date. In 1884 the trade union federation had set May 1, 1886, as the date for a general working-class demand for the 8-hour day, and many strikes in May 1886 won shorter hours for perhaps 200,000, although they are remembered mostly for the bomb that someone, probably a police agent, threw at a demonstration to protest police brutality in Chicago's Haymarket, May 4.

In 1889 the AFL decided to concentrate on winning the 8-hour day for the carpenters as of May 1, 1890. This was the major focus of AFL efforts at the time.

Gompers recalled it thus:

"As the time for the meeting of the International Workingmen's Congress in Paris, July 14, 1889, approached, it occurred to me that we could help our movement by an expression of sympathy from that Congress. I talked the matter over with Hugh McGregor (Secretary of the Seamen and Firemen)... McGregor agreed to act as special courier.... My letter (no copy kept) informed the Paris Congress of our American effort to celebrate the coming May Day by establishing eight hours for the Carpenters and urged them to cooperate.... Eventually a resolution for an 8-hour demonstration was adopted and there was a pretty good observance of the day. That was the origin of European May Day."

The Second International almost died with the outbreak of World War I, but the 1889 Congress left two mementos that have endured, World Labor Day and a song, the Internationale. The words to this had been written during the great slaughter of 1871, and in 1888, in anticipation of the Congress, Pierre Degayter, a wood turner, wrote the music that is no doubt the most widely known melody on earth today.

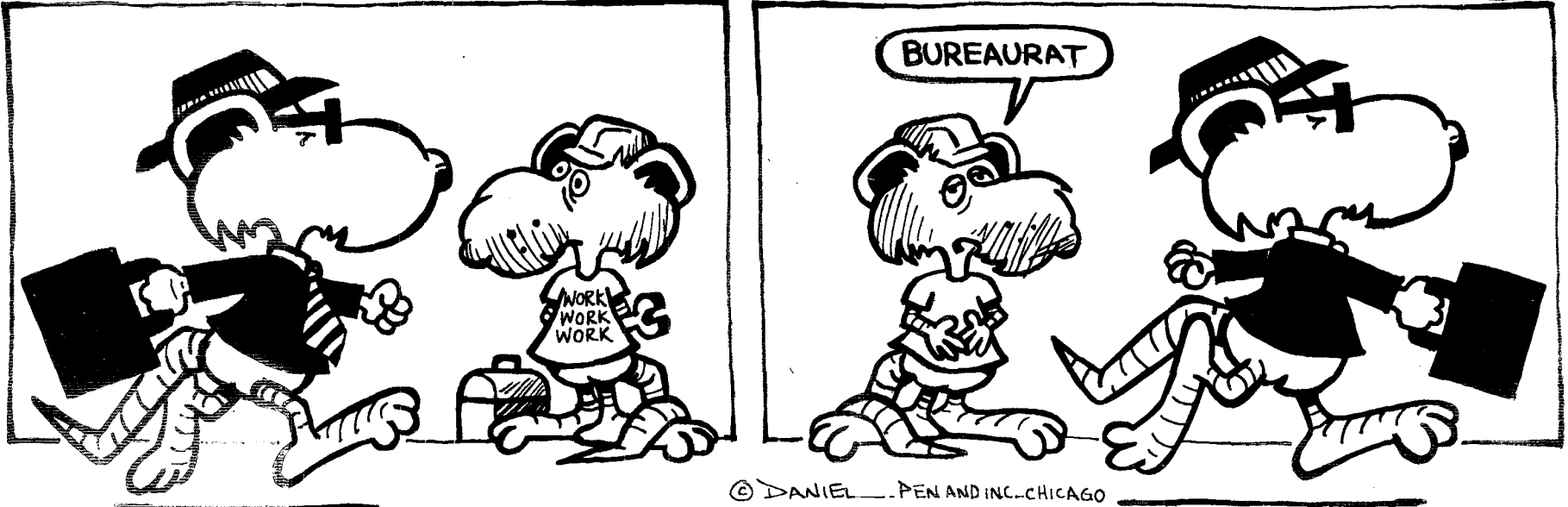
In 1884 American workers felt it would be a good idea to set aside a day dedicated to union aims, the same day all over the continent. Five years later a congress of European workers felt the same way, but proposed a world-wide demonstration, selecting a date that had its rise in the collective bargaining practices of the American building trades. That date, May First, has endured as World Labor Day. In this age of instantaneous communication around the globe, when astronauts can circle the earth in a few hours, when subs can send atomic warheads 6,000 miles, when workers compete with each other worldwide and need instead to cooperate with each other, it would make sense for unions here to observe World Labor Day, May 1, too, so that, to quote that Milan correspondent of 1890,

on this day laborers all over the world should feel the unity of their class as a bond superior to all others, and should give peaceable expression to that feeling in taking a holiday and demonstrating.

—Fred Thompson

Fred Thompson has been an active member of the Industrial Workers of the World for 55 years, and a long time member of the Socialist party. His new book, *The IWW, Its First Fifty Years* will be published shortly.

THE FACTORY FEATURING RATSUS



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Letters

We help break the isolation

Editor:

Congratulations on the first months of *IN THESE TIMES*. In short order, I found that I was waiting for Monday, when it arrived at the newsstand. The most valuable thing about it is its journalistic excellence that puts it miles away from the rhetoric-filled magazines and papers I'd given up on. Your articles on Sam Brown, Tom Hayden, DSOC, Eurocommunism, etc. have been welcome—they give a legitimacy to the growth of electoral activity on the left that helps to break the isolation of the past few years. There are a few major gaps in your reporting, but thanks for the fine newspaper.

—Steve Hodes
Seattle, Wash.

Agrees with Leon Blum

Editor:

Leon Blum (*ITT*, March 16) isn't the only one who "would never guess the paper to be socialist." I believe your paper to be closer in ideology to the *Progressive* or *Ramparts* than to a socialist newspaper.

After reading about a socialist running for the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, whose members are certainly benevolent to the class interests of the capitalists, I next expect to be reading in your newspaper about how a socialist is joining the chief of staffs in the Pentagon or serving on the board of directors of Lockheed. A socialist is not a class collaborator such as the PBA "socialist."

Instead of articles about revisionists and reformers like DSOC or Tom Hayden, why not articles about real socialist organizations. You might try writing about the Socialist Labor party, which is not vague about where it stands in relation to capitalism and what should be done.

There's a difference between making socialism understandable and making socialism so everyone can stand it. I hope future articles of *IN THESE TIMES* will make this distinction.

—Stephen Krancevic
Ashland, Ore.

Don't be defensive

Editor:

Your editorial entitled "Human rights should begin at home" (*ITT*, March 9) detailed instances that show the reasons that socialists can justifiably be skeptical of the current administration's "commitment" to human rights. The recent public rebuke to the American diplomat who had the audacity to exceed his "instructions" and publically apologize for the

U.S. involvement in the overthrow of the Popular Unity government of Chile is further evidence of the sincerity of the current U.S. policy.

But, in spite of this, the editorial seems to reflect a defensiveness about human rights. For instance, the title and closing sentence suggest that human rights struggles should be limited to domestic efforts. I feel that this is, in principle, incorrect and so is the defensiveness that gives rise to such an attitude.

Human rights is a socialist issue. It is an integral part of the struggle for a genuine socialist and democratic society. We should welcome the current public discussion of the human rights question since it affords the opportunity to show how the struggle for socialism is organically related to human rights. For it is perfectly clear that freedom of speech for a Rockefeller whose voice is amplified by the force of millions is patently different from the freedom of speech of the American worker. Socialists should welcome the opportunity to show the contradictions inherent in human rights under the constraint of a capitalist system.

The paper is great and I hope you have a long and successful life.

—Raymond R. Clemence Jr.
Houston, Tex.

Editor's note: We had no intention of being defensive when we suggested that human rights should begin at home. We meant only to point to the cynical way in which the Carter administration is using the issue, and to suggest that if a concern for human rights is genuine it will be put into force where those advocating actually have power—in this case, at home and in the client regimes of the U.S.

Don't restrict your socialism

Editor:

I'm sorry to see that the word "socialist" has disappeared from the front page of *IN THESE TIMES*. I suspect that someone thought they could win people to socialism better without calling it that—at least not on the front page.

Some people, like Shakespeare's Juliet, idealistically ask "What's in a name?" Why not call it "20th Century Americanism" or "economic democracy"—anything but socialism, because that word is not popular. But the failure to advocate socialism openly will hurt us in two ways and help us in none. It does not benefit us, because people who are already against socialism will be against it even if we change our name. They will know we are still socialist, just as Juliet's family would have known who Romeo was, and rejected him, even if he had changed his name.

On the negative side, not openly advocating socialism will deprive us of chances to explain the need for it. Can the working class spontaneously decide to fight for socialism, without anyone advocating it? Second, secrecy will simply add credibility to capitalist charges that we are "sneaky."

Editor Weinstein's book *Ambiguous Legacy* makes the best argument I have seen for the need to advocate socialism publicly and popularly. He traces the

failure of the U.S. Communist party and its successors to their failure to do this.

I am very impressed by Martin Sklar's writings, as well as Weinstein's. They seem to combine political savvy and analytical power with revolutionary commitment. I also have consistently like the *ITT* editorials, which I assume are written by them.

—Norty Wheeler
Oak Park, Ill.

Newspaper unions

Editor:

Bob Gottlieb was incorrect in saying in his Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* story (*ITT*, Feb. 23) that this was the first attempt at plant-wide organizing at an American newspaper. We did it here at the High Point Enterprise-Thomsville Times plant last spring. Also, there is said to be a small newspaper in West Virginia that is organized plant-wide.

We organized here through the Graphic Arts International Union (GAIU), the same union that represents *IN THESE TIMES* printers. The GAIU abandoned us, finally, because they did not think we could win a representation election. About 35 percent of the workers signed GAIU authorization cards, but a lot of our supporters were too frightened to sign up. They remembered a composing room strike here in the late '60s, led by the International Typographical Union (ITU) that was crushed with the help of scabs and non-union company workers.

Gottlieb is right about elitism, though. It is a problem at any newspaper. The main problem, however, is technology, not elitism. Video display terminals, electronic typesetters, two-dimensional metal alloy plates and high-speed presses are now far more effective strike-breaking tools than strikebreakers. As a result it has become almost impossible to win a newspaper strike.

Unless newspaper people start organizing themselves into one big union, by plant and by chain, they can forget about strikes. Management has us on the run all across the U.S., and unless we take stock of the situation and fight back the only way we can by discarding old elitist and craft-union notions, we're doomed.

The union bureaucracies are the greatest obstacle to this essential re-examination. Organizing won't come easy, and they know it. Maybe that's why they're stalling. This time they know they'll have to appeal to the guys in the mailroom and the elitists in the newsroom at the same time, and keep them happy.

The workers at the Los Angeles paper sound like they've gotten off to an excellent start. If they hold together and negotiate a decent contract, they will give the labor movement, especially in publishing, a real shot in the arm.

—Bill Collins
High Point, N.C.

Meany and Chile

Editor:

Sidney Lens' comments (*ITT*, March 23) about AFL-CIO complicity in the

1973 coup against the United Popular government of Salvador Allende were correct.

Marschall and Lens might have pointed out that the AFL-CIO involvement in Chile did not end with the coup. The federation is active there now—in cooperation with the junta's hand-picked labor front and selected junta-approved "labor leaders" trained by the AIFLD.

In fact, not so long ago AFL-CIO International Affairs Department officer Andrew McClellan issued a resounding blast that defended this labor front (which has been condemned by such groups as the ICFTU, WCL, WFTU and many national labor federations) against criticism. McClellan complained that "dupes" in Europe and elsewhere were supporting the CUT-in-Exile and he complained that the ICFTU had given "over \$1,623,240" for relief of CUT officers and members in exile and for the resistance in Chile. McClellan also whined about the attacks on the junta's labor front "by exiled totalitarian leaders of the dissolved CUT." No more vigorous defense of the junta has been given by any foreigner.

The AFL-CIO international affairs department of the AFL-CIO (led by former Marine officer Ernie Lee—Meany's son-in-law) is engaged in the closest collaboration with "labor" officials of the junta. These international labor credit card commandos have access to urban and remote areas of Chile at a time when leaders of the ICFTU, WCL and the International Transport Workers' Federation have been summarily ejected from Chile.

Research Associates International, POB 9662, Marina Del Rey, CA 90291 exists to disseminate information about this sort of thing.

—Michael Gelb
Los Angeles

Anti-Semitic agit-prop?

Editor:

As a professional reporter I am appalled by the sloppy and tendentious reporting contained in T.D. Allman's article on the Palestinians. Any responsible editor would have questioned an article whose charges were, without exception, made by unnamed sources and were never responded to by responsible Israeli officials. Was no one willing to go on the record? Since the Israelis tolerate endless criticism from the Arab mayors of the west bank and Israeli Arab towns, I find it hard to believe that anyone who had a legitimate grievance would really be unwilling to give his name to substantiate his charges. The only one quoted on the record was an Israeli. Alas for Allman's polemic, he admitted he had never heard the Palestinian's complaints. If there is any truth to those charges, why weren't they made to the settlement officials?

I regrettably conclude that Allman's piece is not journalism but anti-Semitic agit-prop. This type of propaganda in *IN THESE TIMES* will ensure that *ITT* will never reach the broad American left that it has tried to cultivate.

—Steven Asher
Cambridge, Mass.

(More letters on next page.)

The Sadlowski campaign and labor's strategy

Dan Marshall's column makes three separate points. 1. The ENA has been successful. 2. Sadlowski lost because he was perceived as "strike-happy." 3. The strike weapon is out of date. I disagree with all of them.

The ENA has not been successful. It was sold as the answer to layoffs. Give up the right to strike, steelworkers were told, and you'll get job security in return. They have given up the right to strike but layoffs continue undiminished. Dan asserts: "The ENA has stabilized the steel industry to the extent that negotiators can realistically discuss union demands for lifetime job security." I think the truth is: ENA has been such a bust that the USWA bureaucracy is obliged to come up with another miracle job-securer.

What is the evidence that Sadlowski lost because he was perceived as strike-happy? In basic steel, where ENA was an issue, he *won*. Outside of basic steel where ENA was not an issue he lost. I believe that had he vigorously advocated the *local* right to strike during the life of the contract, which affects all steelworkers, he might have done better. Steelworkers in the Youngstown-Pittsburgh area consider that what hurt him most was the *Penthouse* interview in which he appeared casually to advocate the reduction of jobs in basic steel from 400,000 to 100,000. It is true that the Canadian steelworkers who went heavily for McBride are socialists, but their choice was already made at the USWA convention in August and had nothing to do with Sadlowski's choice of rhetoric thereafter.

It is also true that a strike expresses an "adversary relationship" to management. What relationship does Dan have in mind? He states: "It's all but impossible for labor to return to the fighting days of the 1930s. With massive government intervention in the economy and the flowering of multi-national corporations, strikes are not as capable of raising workers' real wages as they once were." Dan seems to think that strikes are inherently parochial and apolitical. But there is nothing inherently more or less parochial about a strike than about any other form of action, such as running for political office. A strike can have political objectives and support other forms of political action. Witness the recent miners' strikes in support of state and federal black lung legislation, against the use of injunctions, and against restrictions on the supply of gas necessary to drive to work. No doubt because the power and versatility of the strike weapon has proved itself in their experience, miners have made recognition of the local right to strike, at least over health and safety, their Number One contract demand. In Europe, nationwide strikes against government policies are commonplace. And in Canada, the labor movement recently organized a one-day general strike against the phenomenon which Dan says makes strikes obsolete: inflation.

Presumably all those socialist steelworkers took part.

—Staughton Lynd
Niles, Ohio

To argue that "socialists should be very cautious not to romanticize strikes as the most pure form of the class struggle" as Dan Marshall does in his column (*ITT*, March 9) is grossly to misread the outcome of the recent election in the Steelworkers Union on which he bases much of his reasoning. In addition, he fails fully to comprehend the significance of the strike weapon in all of labor history and seems to have fallen prey to a gimmicky approach to collective bargaining.

In his all too simplified approach to the Sadlowski campaign Marshall sin-

Nevertheless, the Sadlowski campaign was historic. It succeeded in breaking the lily white team at the union's top level by forcing the election of a black man, even if it wasn't the one on Sadlowski's slate. And also for the first time a Chicano was on a major slate for office in one of the country's largest unions.

To return to the strike issue: True, the work stoppage has within it some inherent dangers, such as plants moving to traditional non-union areas in the South. But there is no substitution for confrontation. It is not the task of socialists to find ways to avoid these confrontations, as Marshall seems to believe. If anything it is their job to intensify the confrontation while skillfully selecting the time and place for the best chances of success. Not every situation calls for a

contributed to layoffs. I did not state all my criticisms of the ENA because I mistakenly took them as a starting point that is accepted by all those who favor a militant, democratic labor movement. My point was that the ENA may have some positive effects on job security that the left should take seriously.

The job security plans now being discussed in steel negotiations would be very mixed in their impact. They may benefit only high-seniority workers, increase the polarization in the mills between young and old, and give management more power over work assignments. I took a more rosey and positive view of these demands than is valid. They may indeed turn out to be the kind of rationalized incremental tinkering that Lynd predicts.

As for strikes, I did not say that they have "inherent dangers" or that socialists should "find ways to avoid these confrontations," as Kushner claims. Nor do I believe that strikes are an outmoded weapon of the class struggle, but rather that multinational corporations in some industries have been able to minimize their effectiveness. Strikes are an important weapon that can mobilize and unify the rank and file, as well as underscore the fact that their interests are antagonistic to the profit orientations of management.

In addition, the right to strike is a crucial principle that unions should not give up. The strike is their ultimate weapon against capital. But whether a particular group of workers in a certain situation give up that right for a period is another question. Every contract gives up the right to strike for a certain amount of time. Relinquishing that right is a very serious decision, however, and should not be made in exchange for a mess of pottage.

Lynd and Kushner point out that Sadlowski won in basic steel. But he did not win by the wide margins that campaign workers and informed observers knew would be necessary for him to carry the entire union.

We can only speculate about why Sadlowski lost. Lynd suspects that the *Penthouse* interview was a main reason and that Sadlowski would have done better had he backed the local right to strike. Kushner is right in saying that many factors came into play, though he implies that the campaign was premature. My point about Sadlowski being *perceived* as "strike happy" was that his message did not come through to some steelworkers in a way that would reassure them about his policies as union president. Rather, Sadlowski's rhetoric was distorted by McBride and the media and was probably a negative factor in the final tally.

My larger point was that for unions to be able to defend their members, and to advance the interests of all working people, they must go beyond the immediate conflict between workers and management in a given firm or industry to questions of political power and the intervention of the state into the economy.

DIALOG

gles out one factor, not necessarily the decisive one, to make his point. It was that Sadlowski wanted to "return to the fighting days of the 1930s," and that this may have been the militant union leaders' undoing. But what is ignored is that the Steelworkers most affected by a possible return to the use of the strike weapon through the abolition of the ENA (Experimental Negotiation Agreement) were precisely the ones who gave a majority to Sadlowski and his slate.

Having interviewed scores of steelworkers before and during the Feb. 8 election I was cognizant of the economic pressure on many of the workers, including many blacks and chicanos. Many of the older workers, who wanted to be let alone and just live out their days on the job until pension time, mentioned the fear of strike. But they always did so in the context of other issues. Younger workers, almost invariably, were on Sadlowski's side.

Marshall's simplified approach to the whole question is reflected by his judgment that the "best explanation" he had yet heard for Sadlowski's apparent defeat was that he was effectively labelled as "strike happy." There are others that may have a stronger bearing on the election outcome that Marshall and others on the left have failed to explore.

Included among them is the question whether the historic Steelworkers Fight Back movement, still in its embryonic stage, and led by a charismatic leader who had barely taken office before embarking on the campaign for the national presidency of the union, was sufficiently timely. Was it deeply enough rooted in the rank and file? Were the coalitions that supported it sufficiently broad? Would it not have been better for the Steelworkers Fight Back movement to have gone after district director's posts in several other key districts rather than for the whole ball of wax in the 1976-77 races?

strike. Many of us in the labor movement can recall ill-advised strikes in which we have participated. But as a whole they taught the working class a great deal, developed new leadership and increased the knowledge of those already in leadership of militant workers.

From 1919 to the 1930s there was a diversity of organizing techniques in building the industrial union movement. But at the core of it all was the strike weapon. During World War II the biggest mistake the left-led unions made was mechanistically to apply the no-strike pledge. They paid dearly in the eyes of militant workers who more clearly than some "left" union officials recognized the basic nature of management exploitation.

If socialists now seek a way other than strike as a prime basis for struggle and labor gains they will be even more isolated from militant workers than they are now.

—Sam Kushner
Los Angeles

Dan Marshall replies

Lynd and Kushner go to the heart of the issues I discussed in my column on the Sadlowski campaign. Kushner is correct in stressing the "historic" nature of the campaign and its impact in arousing union activists to challenge the labor bureaucracy. My column was in no way intended to belittle the campaign's significance or the tremendous effort that has gone into building the rank-and-file movement in the United Steel Workers.

I think I confronted the right questions, but in an overly-polemical and one-sided way that did not fully address the issues involved.

First, I do not believe that the ENA has been "successful" beyond curtailing the company stockpiling that directly

More Letters

Unity in diversity

Editor:

Your editorial about DSOC and the CED (*ITT*, March 23) is superb. It expressed my views perfectly. Hayden has endorsed my campaign as has the CED. Things are moving. We have two TV shows in the can already. Volunteers are out on the streets tomorrow and Sunday.

But above all this is the feeling of unification of purpose that I carry around in my gut and which you express so beautifully. This "unity of diversity" is crucial

to the socialist movement and the tolerance and empathy that it reflects cannot be repeated enough if we are to achieve a new society.

You'll continue to get letters from those self-defeatists who want to hide their inability to accept responsibility by separating themselves from unified movement. Never mind. What you will attract through such a thesis will be the new minds who can think and act beyond personal self-gratification and don't need the limited attention that sometimes comes through association with lost causes.

It's good to know you have that commitment.

—Burt Wilson
Los Angeles

Editor's note: Burt Wilson is a candidate for the California State Assembly from the 46th District.

ITT scores goal

Editor:

Congratulations on the recent coverage of sports in *ITT*. Too often the left has either written off sports as one more manifestation of capitalist domination or has embraced them as truly "working class" and above criticism. The recent articles by Rosenbloom, Naison, and Russell are welcomed corrections to this view.

As someone who once played a great deal of hockey, I appreciated Rosenbloom's piece. A curse on the system which is destroying a once exciting and beautiful sport! Also, Russell's review of *Rocky* was welcome after Silber's irrelevant review.

Keep up the good work.

—William Thorne
Philadelphia, Pa.

Incongruous

Editor:

I was dismayed by the front cover of *ITT* (March 16). I can still hardly believe it. It is totally incongruous to have socialist/feminist articles inside the paper and such a sexist cover. The cover picture of Faye Dunaway has practically no relation to the article on the Oscars. The picture appears to be there to sell the newspaper, which is a commonly-used way of using women, and thus contributes to sexist society's portrayal of women as sex objects, there for the benefit of men. This does seem quite contradictory to the inclusion of several good feminist articles in past issues of *ITT*.

—Katherine Kennedy
New Haven, Conn.

Barbara Ehrenreich

New fashion forsakes feminism in favor of fluttery wing sleeves

This column is about the new spring fashions.

Now just one minute before you turn the page searching for something you can sink your teeth into—like recombinant DNA or the Trilateral Commission. Fashion is serious stuff. In the long run, it may turn out that the big gain for women since the 19th century is not the vote (at least not with the choices I've seen in the last few years), but the right to wear pants. We've forgotten the long struggle against tight-lacing, which produced 17-inch waists and a tendency to hysterical fainting fits. And we've forgotten Amela Bloomer (inventor of "bloomers") whose followers were threatened, in some localities, with tar-and-feathering. In fact, the demand for healthy, non-confining female clothing was so radical that feminists eventually had to give it up and focus on suffrage.

Nor is it entirely frivolous to talk about high fashion. All right, you can't hope to own it unless you're the kind of person who plays with a full deck of credit cards. But when Lee Radziwill wears a four-figure frock to a charity ball to raise money for retired museum curators, you can bet your Mastercharge that the \$19.95 version will be available the next day in the Sears catalog and the Sheboygan shopping mall. If you happen to be a clerical worker or a saleswoman, like 11 million other working women, you've got to make some attempt to keep up with the fashions: It's part of the job.

So, on with the spring fashions. What we are facing this year is called the New Romanticism. It is soft, ruffled, lacy, billowing, full-skirted and it's supposed to make you look like Scarlet O'Hara in that famous scene where Rhett Butler carries

her up the stairs. It is, as the ads put it, "feminine."

►No insult to feminism.

My first thought was—what a slap in the face to feminism! Maybe even a setback of historic proportions. But, I was amazed to read, it's not that at all. The New Romanticism is a sign of the final victory! As the *New York Times* spring fashion supplement explains, "It's almost as if women have proved to themselves that they're equal to men and are now secure enough to want to wear frankly feminine clothes." Maybe you hadn't noticed it out there in the typing pools and supermarkets, but we can relax at last—the struggle is over.

Or consider this ad from another recent *Times*. The picture shows a New Romanticist classic—a \$60 dress that looks like the kind of nightgown you might get from a slightly old-fashioned mother-in-law who is aspiring to be a grandmother. The ad copy, coyly disguised as a dialogue between "you" the reader and "us" the advertiser, runs like this:

Us: This [New Romanticism] means women are feeling more secure about their equality and no longer need to emulate the wearing apparel of men. Furthermore...

You: Fluttery wing sleeves, soft blousy top. This is enough to make Bill bring up wedding bells again. Maybe I'll say yes this time.

Get the drift?

Now, what does this all mean? First we can eliminate, without much discussion, the possibility that there has been a feminist victory and most of us just didn't watch the news that day. Any woman who feels "secure about her equality" in

these days of rising violence against women and declining votes for the ERA should be suspected of mainlining Valium. No, I think the significance of the New Romanticism is that the marketing men are no longer afraid of us.

►The denim revolution.

Six or so years ago the women's movement had the market research men shaking in their \$70 Italian shoes. An article called "Coping with Women's Lib" in the trade journal *Sales Management* (1971) advised companies to drop offensive ad copy and get into the dungaree business—or face extinction. Fashion pursued feminism, with "natural look" cosmetics, workshirts, pantsuits, and denim, denim. Skirts retreated to the size 14-plus racks and bras were snatched off the shelves before they could be ignited by the fanatical "libbers" of corporate fantasy. Fashion produced its own version of the androgynous ideal and called it "unisex."

The New Romanticism doesn't mean that the fashion dictators have lost interest in feminists and gone out to cultivate the Total Woman market. In fact, the fashion ads seem to assume that everyone is a feminist, at some level or another. What's changed is the corporate image of a feminist: In 1971 she was an unpredictable hell-raiser who went from overturning displays of vaginal deodorants in drug-stores to spray-painting "male chauvinist pigs" on the walls of corporate headquarters—without so much as combing her hair between actions. In 1977 she's supposed to be above all those things—"secure," reasonable, and never, never obnoxious.

And I think they may be right. Feminism has been getting ladylike. There's been a tragic decline in obnoxiousness, pugna-

city and general bitchiness. In mixed groups, the charge of "sexism" which once would have set the males cringing with guilt, is now more likely to get a patient sigh—from another woman. Why waste our energy on "little things"? Betty Friedan set the new tone a few weeks back with an article in the "family living" section of the *New York Times* on how much she loves to cook—especially for the men in her life—as if to say, "See, I'm really 'feminine' after all." What next? Kate Millett apologizing to Norman Mailer for her "rude" remarks in *Sexual Politics*? NOW fund-raising parties with the feminist activists billowing about in neo-romantic confections from Bloomingdales?

►Back to uppityness.

I think we could do with a little more old-fashioned feminist uppityness, a little more attention to all those "little things" that Madison Avenue would love to see us rise above. Here are a few suggestions for getting started; I'm sure you'll come up with dozens more:

- boycott the New Romanticism and, wherever possible, unisex chic too. Set new standards of creative dowdiness!

- take a book by Henry Miller, Lionel Tiger, Midge Dechter or other prominent sexists out of the library and return it with extensive marginal commentary.

- write lesbian graffiti in a McDonald's restroom. (If you can't think of any, copy one that's already there.)

- write to this paper and complain about the Faye Dunaway sexploitation cover (March 16). Why not a picture of Ring Lardner Jr. (whom the cover story actually featured) with his shirt undone to the waist?

Barbara Ehrenreich is an author of *Witches, Midwives and Nurses*. Her column appears regularly.



Joshua Dressler

Inez Garcia case not to be taken as a defense of revenge killings

Inez Garcia, rape victim, was acquitted last month in her trial for the murder of one of her attackers. People close to the trial, especially feminists, have differed significantly in their views of the social and legal implications of her acquittal. Because their differences are important, a close look at the case is in order.

In March 1974 Garcia was raped by two men. Thirty minutes after the rape, she confronted her attackers in a street five blocks away and killed one of them. She said that she acted to defend her honor.

Garcia was charged with first degree murder. Charles Garry, famed attorney of countless politically progressive causes, was retained.

►Diminished capacity.

Among others, Garry raised the defense of "diminished capacity." Under this theory, he suggested that at the time of the killing, and because of the rape, Garcia, although sane, was suffering from an abnormal mental condition that made her incapable of acting within the law.

Many of Garcia's feminist legal supporters were outraged at Garry's line of defense. They asserted that "it is a sign of increased, not diminished capacity to shoot one's rapist."

Garry failed in his strategy. Garcia was convicted of second degree murder. The conviction was overturned on appeal, however.

At retrial, Garcia hired a new attorney,

Susan Jordan. Jordan placed greater emphasis on the theory of self-defense, suggesting that Garcia was afraid of a second rape when she shot her attacker.

One cannot tell whether the change of strategy was the cause, but Garcia was acquitted on March 4, 1977, nearly three years after the attack. For Garcia, raped, turned into a killer, and involuntarily separated from her family, it spelled the end of a terrible ordeal. For Jordan and many supporters, it was the climax of many months and even years of selfless struggle for Garcia and larger principles involved in the trial.

►Feminists split.

After the trial came the normal post mortems. A split developed. Some feminists suggested that now, thanks to the acquittal, women had for the first time received the right to defend themselves against rapists by killing.

This was an overstatement. It is hard to see the Garcia case as traditional self-defense. The killing occurred half an hour after the rape, and the facts certainly leave the impression that Garcia sought out the second confrontation. Furthermore, even prior to this case, the law, at least in theory, supported the right to use whatever force appeared reasonably necessary to fight off an attacker.

Nonetheless, the Garcia case does lend support to women in their struggle against rape. It reminds them that if they have the ability and the opportunity safely to do so,

they can and should resist their attackers, with deadly force if necessary. It also served as a much needed education for many men. Many were forced, possibly for the first time, to confront how degrading and permanently psychologically debilitating rape is. The Garcia case was also a warning that rape will no longer be countenanced by the courts.

Seen this way, the Garcia case was a progressive step for women's rights. But, unfortunately, some feminists saw the case as standing for much more. They asserted that the acquittal meant that women not only had the moral right, but also the legal right to seek out one's sexual attackers and kill them, like exterminating rats.

►The right of revenge.

This position is chilling. If a woman has such a moral and legal right, then any man or woman who is physically attacked or maimed should also have the right to kill (or at least maim) his or her attacker. Why also should not the family of a murdered person have a similar right of revenge?

The position of these feminists is really nothing less than Clint Eastwood-Dirty Harryism. A society of Eastwood and Charles Bronsons—of any sex—is a society filled with vengeance, machismo, and dehumanization—the very attributes the women's movement is struggling against.

Lest I be misunderstood, I am not suggesting that Garcia or any other woman

who kills her rapist in a similar situation should be prosecuted. Far from it.

I am simply saying that a woman should not suggest that killing a rapist after an attack (assuming that the woman does not reasonably fear a second attack) is legally justifiable or morally right. It is no longer self-defense. Rather, the woman should be acquitted for exactly the reasons Garry suggested: that any person who is forced to undergo the fear and degradation of a sexual attack, and who kills thereafter, is apt to have acted with such a clouded mind that she must be excused for her conduct.

The difference is more than one of semantics. A society has a right to tell rape victims, including feminists, that they should not kill their attacker—that it is not morally justifiable—but that if they do so because of deep psychological upset, their conduct will be excused.

My position will no doubt infuriate some. It seems, however, the best approach to a very difficult situation. The rape victim is acquitted. The rapist is not shot down in the street by the woman, but is instead forced to go to trial where the entire society can express its revulsion for, and condemnation of, his actions. And, it reinforces the belief that the Dirty Harrys of any sex are undesirable.

Joshua Dressler is a lawyer who teaches at the University of San Fernando Valley College of Law, Los Angeles. His column appears regularly.



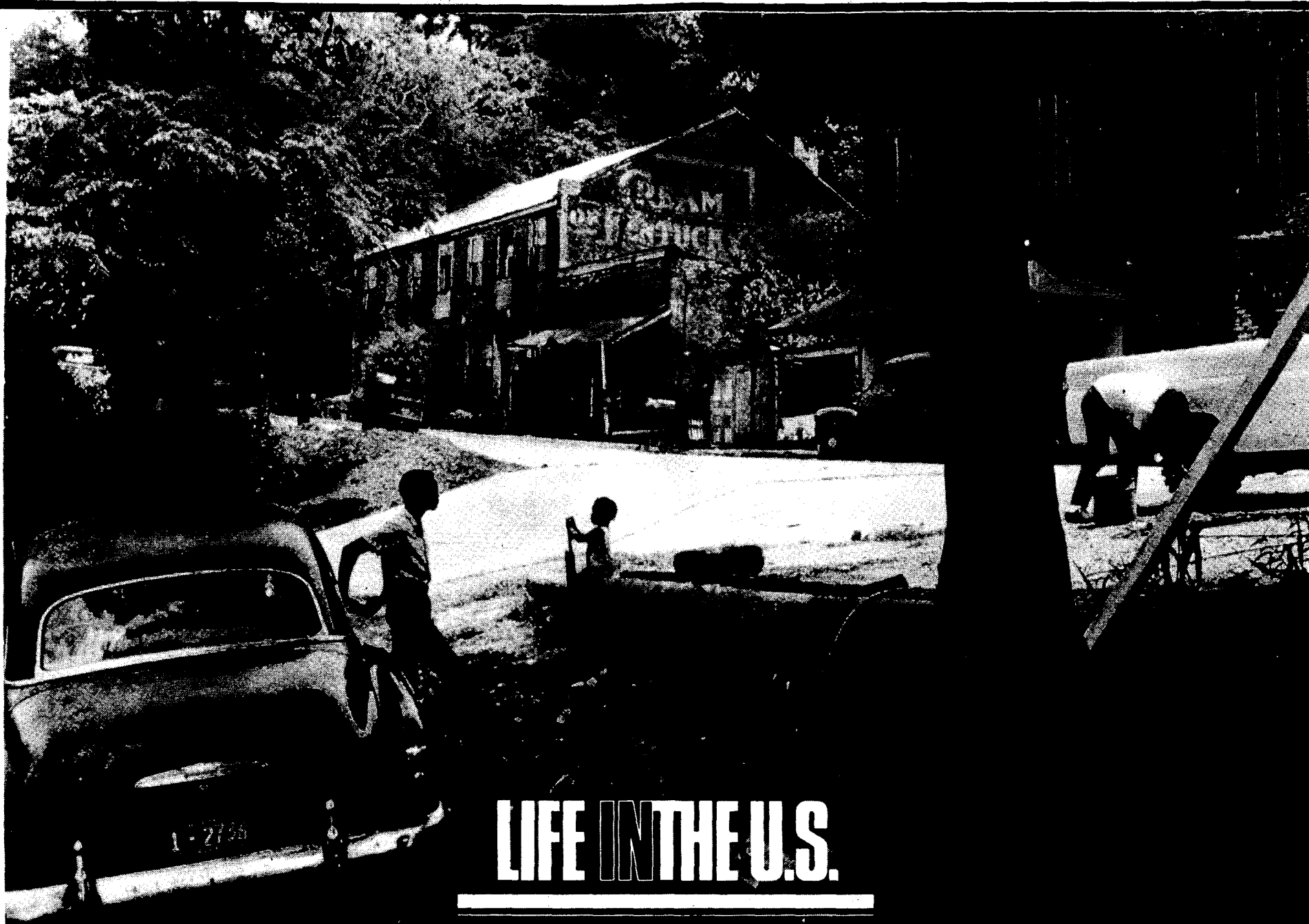


Photo by Mary King

LIFE IN THE U.S.

Progress in Poverty Capital, U.S.A.

By Jodey Bateman

Marks, Miss., is where the Poor People's Campaign mule train to Washington, D.C., started from in 1968. It is the county seat of Quitman County where blacks have the lowest median income, the third highest unemployment rate and one of the highest rates of out-migration of any county in Mississippi, the poorest state in the nation.

For a brief period Marks had nationwide publicity. Local merchants capitalized on it in traditional American style. They sold postcards that said "Marks: Poverty Capital of the Country" as some other towns pride themselves on things like producing the most broom corn.

After the publicity was over, the black community of Marks went back to the slow, patient organizing they had been doing for years in the civil rights movement. Lule Belle Weathersby, for instance, came back from Resurrection City to become chairwoman of the country's National Welfare Rights Organization.

"We kept hollering so long we annoyed them," she sums up her experience, "and they stuck this little piece of bread in our mouth so us couldn't holler so loud. Nixon tried to push us back some. Under Nixon we didn't gain nothing. We just had to hold on to what we got and wait for another President."

For generations, the black people of Marks and the area around it had lived in poverty doing manual labor on the plantations. Then, when cotton-picking machines, tractors and chemical weed killers replaced people who picked and hoed the cotton, about half the sharecroppers went north.

But many could find no room in the ghettos of Chicago and Detroit or were too old or lacked the education for a job there. So jobless rural blacks moved to county seat towns like Marks. While nearby rural areas declined, Marks has grown steadily.

►Give people some land.

"This farm where we used to have 40 families and now there ain't but two," Mrs. Weathersby says. "They tore down our houses and we started piling up in these

little towns. You know, I think that's what caused this recession. We used to be out there on farms raising our own food. Then we had to pile into town and live on commercial food. So now there's a shortage of this and that cause we'd spend on that commercially-grown food.

"If the government wanted to end the recession, they'd buy up some of these plantations and we could move out on them and raise gardens and hogs and cattle—all our own food. I know a lot of them who would like to do that."

Mrs. Weathersby's idea about the land is echoed by many poor people in Marks. Alec Dean, a Choctaw Indian married to a black woman, says, "The only way I can see to solve this problem is to put the land back in circulation. Let the people go out and work on it—raise their own food and get off welfare. I think the world is looking for something to do. They looking for it to change one way or another, white and colored."

Although no such basic change has been achieved, Mrs. Weathersby mentions the omnibus housing bill as one of the results of the Poor People's Campaign. She and a number of other black people in Marks have built bright colored low-cost frame houses with help provided under the Omnibus bill, though most blacks still live in sagging shacks.

"When we got ready to build this house we didn't have nothing but \$10," Mrs. Weathersby says. "I just shed a tear. But I looked up and here come a truck to get us out of the heat and the cold and the mosquitoes. I felt so proud. And I felt the same thing when I looked at the truck taking the lumber to other people's houses."

"All we had to pay was \$28 a month. The government was paying \$32 a month on each house. But the government loan run out and the housing loan run out and the housing project for low-income people done slowed down. Nixon slowed it down. But Congress appropriated it and Ford wouldn't sign it till they rewrote it, but now they got it. You can move in without any down payment whatsoever—just start your monthly payment."

"And all my life I been hearing 'You too poor' when I wanted a house that would keep us out of the weather."

►A new sewer.

Jessie Franklin, who spent a great deal of his life plowing with mules, was one of those who took care of the mules on the Poor People's Campaign. "On that mule train to Washington, some of these young people couldn't even put a collar on the mule," he says. "They tried to put it on upside down. They never would have got it on if it hadn't been for some of us older heads. My little boy two years old, he ain't never seen no mule. It would scare him if he seen one."

Franklin's home is in a low-lying area where once an open sewer emptied into a creek. This open sewer, which carried raw sewage from the white part of town, was the major feature of the black part of Marks. Some black homes could be reached only by planks over the sewer ditch. This stink was terrible. In rainy weather Franklin's house and others in the neighborhood were surrounded by a lake of sewage. People poled boats over it to get to their houses. Children in the sewer area were often thin and sickly.

Now the sewer runs underground in a concrete pipe. The area is still badly drained, with pools of stagnant water in many places, but the stench is gone and the children look healthier. Franklin and his brother made constant appeals to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare before the open sewer was covered.

Blacks now have a voting majority in the county. The first black official in the history of the county, a constable, was not elected until 1975, which means Marks is well behind many other black communities in Mississippi. But all local politicians now make serious efforts to please the black vote and blacks try to learn as much as they can to exercise this new power. (as late as 1965, only 5 percent of the blacks in Quitman County were registered to vote.)

With the vote, the fear that used to paralyze the black community has gone. The chief of police in Marks is black and so is half the police force. The candidates for sheriff go to NAACP meetings asking for votes and leaders of the local NAACP are called on by the city government to help solve the few racial incidents.

Not many years ago these incidents

were resolved by railroading blacks to prison. Leaders of the NAACP back then were threatened by prominent local whites with being tied up and thrown in the Coldwater River.

"Now it's no more fear," says Rev. Willie Malone, one of the founders of the local NAACP and current president of the Voters' League.

►School integration.

The change that the local whites fought most hysterically in the '60s was school integration. The parents of all four of the first black pupils to try to integrate the high school lost their jobs in 1964. Parents and children alike were threatened with death.

The first black children to actually enter the white school did so under the freedom of choice plan in 1966. Some of the children were beaten up by white pupils. Others were harassed for trivial reasons by teachers and principals.

Then a court order provided for complete merger of the black and white school systems. The white community set up a private school for its children. But lower income white children—about half the white children in the county—couldn't afford the private school; they went to school with the blacks. Like the black children, they now read textbooks with the writings of black authors like Martin Luther King, Frederick Douglass, Ralph Ellison, Langston Hughes and Lorraine Hansberry. Many of their teachers are black.

Integration is having far-reaching effects, since these low income white youths were previously supposed to have been the whites most hostile to blacks. After ten years of integration, black youths in Marks already seem more genuinely friendly and open and frank with whites without the Tomming that was once common.

Mrs. Weathersby says, "It's a beautiful sight to go across town and see the black childrens and the white childrens walking the streets, playing with each other, just having a ball. The old folks kind of stare at them, but the kids enjoy each other. If

Continued on page 19.

How did Southern blacks win the vote?



Voter registration (and Woolworth boycotting) in the deep South in the '60s was a major offensive of the civil rights movement

Photo by Norris McNamara

BLACK BALLOTS: Voting Rights in the South, 1944-1969

By Steven F. Lawson
Columbia University Press, 1976

As the 1976 presidential election demonstrated, Southern blacks have achieved considerable political power that can, in fact, be decisive. Yet, as recently as 1940 less than 200,000 blacks were eligible to vote in the 11 states of the former Confederacy. How did such a transformation take place in one generation? *Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South, 1944-1969* offers a partial explanation.

Steven F. Lawson's analysis of suffrage expansion is only partially enlightening because the focus of this book is more limited than its title would suggest. Lawson concentrates on the passage of three major pieces of legislation: the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Essentially, then, *Black Ballots* is an exhaustive history only of congressional and presidential initiatives to expand black suffrage following World War II.

What happened in Washington, however, may not have been nearly as significant as the struggle in the Mississippi Delta or Selma, Alabama, or the other battlefields of the civil rights movement in the South. Lawson clearly acknowledges the decisive importance of direct action in the South by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and others. But, he makes only passing reference to this most dramatic aspect of his story, which is a serious distortion.

Lawson explains the role of the federal government quite well, however. By 1940 Southern racists had virtually nullified the Fifteenth Amendment. The first official assault on this injustice was the Supreme Court decision in *Smith v. Allwright* outlawing the white primary in 1944. The white primary had long operated as the most effective means of denying blacks the right to vote. Twenty years later, in spite of the passage of two major civil rights acts, still only 38 percent of Southern Negroes were eligible to vote.

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 were only marginally successful, although they did reaffirm a national commitment to unrestricted suffrage. Lawson is most

effective in explaining the limitations of this legislation, and by extension, the liberal reform movement of post-World War II America.

The prospects for ending black disenfranchisement in the 1950s appeared good. The Supreme Court had spoken unequivocally; the enormously popular new president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, seemed to be genuinely horrified by the denial of the vote to any American; and accelerating northward migration of blacks greatly increased their power to influence Congress. Moreover, the cause of franchise expansion, unlike desegregation, was broadly appealing. Even Southern politicians had difficulty explaining why black men and women should not be able to vote.

Advocates of reform faced substantial obstacles, however. Most significantly, the federal system entrusted control of elections and law enforcement to local government officials. National lawmakers and executives, no matter how liberal, were reluctant to directly challenge that principle.

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 reflected numerous compromises dictated by cautious Republicans and Lyndon Johnson Democrats. Thus, the legislation relied primarily upon laborious court action and a national appeal to goodwill. Even the limited powers granted to the attorney general in these two bills were rarely invoked by the Eisenhower administration, which feared mob action like that at Little Rock.

Not until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 authorized massive federal interference on a local level was the Southern strategy of delay overcome. But even the final, apparent victory must be qualified. As Lawson notes, the black and white liberals who fought so long to expand suffrage may have expected too much. Since the vote has not banished racism and economic injustice, many wonder if the struggle was worthwhile. None of us have enough historical perspective to make a final judgment. The next four to eight years, however, should be instructive. If this Georgian, President by grace of Southern black votes, does not deliver on his spoken and unspoken promises, then bitter frustration and anger will be justified.

—Bill Leary

Bill Leary lives and writes near Washington, D.C.

Poverty, USA

Continued from page 18.

we let these children alone, they going to make it.

"When they first integrated the school, you go by the schoolyard and you see the black kids over in a corner all by themselves. Negroes taught their children to be scared of white people. But now you go by you see them all mixed up, running and playing together.

"My boy had a white school friend. Some days at school they didn't like what was for lunch and they'd come over to my house to eat.

"The white children really don't like that private school. They coming back more every year. Some, it's because they can't afford it, but some, they just don't like it."

►Football.

Jimmie Le Franklin was one of the first black pupils to integrate the school. Then he was in the first grade. Now, at age 17, he is an all-conference football player.

"If we have a white boy on our team," he says, "it don't matter if he good, if he go over to the private school he be the star

of the whole school. They make him offers, they give him a scholarship or something to go over there.

"The private school ain't got much to choose from. They got too few kids coming there—about 150 or 200. We got some troops—about 800.

"You don't find too much football talent going to the private school. In the public school you get thousands of attitudes. On a team of 40 people you got 40 different attitudes. At the private school, they all supposed to believe the same thing, hating people.

"We got about five white players. All of them good. All us like brothers together. We ain't got nothing against each other. The white players wouldn't leave our school. They hate the private school like a

dog. We got one we lost to the private school, but he come back cause he didn't like the school. We got more white going to our school than we did."

Mrs. Weathersby sums up the attitude of blacks in Marks to the difficult changes of the past ten years: "Even with the recession, we're doing better than we was doing back yonder when we was slaving and didn't have enough to eat—and we worked hard. Course I don't have everything I would like to have. And it was a heap better before the recession. But it's still better than back in the '30s and the '40s. Better than all of my life. That don't mean I don't have problems."

Jodey Bateman lived and worked in Quitman County in the '60s and recently returned to chronicle the changes in the last decade.

YOU WON'T FIND IT ANYWHERE ELSE

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IN THESE TIMES

SPORTS

Tennis, a doctors' game, goes working class

By Mark Naison

You can see them in almost every neighborhood. They come in all ages, from the very young to the very old. Some of them wear beautiful designer jump suits, others wear old blue jeans, tee shirts and a pair of converse basketball sneakers. There are now as many as them in Inwood, an Irish working-class neighborhood in New York, as there are in Forest Hills or the Upper West Side. There are as many women as men, and they often participate together.

What do these people have in common? They're all playing tennis. In New York City's public parks, from dawn to dusk, public tennis courts are filled to capacity and cement walls built for one wall hand ball are monopolized by tennis players practicing their strokes.

It was not always thus. When I was growing up in Brooklyn in the 1950s, almost no one in my neighborhood—a mixture of working class and lower middle class Italians and Jews—knew anything about the game. I learned it at a bungalow colony where my school teacher parents took me during the summers and promptly forgot about it in the fall when I plunged back into the neighborhood's favorite sports—baseball, football, punchball, stickball and (especially) basketball.

Tennis became my main sport wholly by accident. Like almost every other male kid on my block, my main goal in life was to play on a varsity team in high school. Football was my best sport but my parents, whose main preoccupation was moving me safely into the middle class, refused to let me play. ("Why don't you find a sport where you can meet a better class of people? All the worst kids in the neighborhood play football.") I tried out for basketball, but didn't make the team.

►A varsity letter.

Finally, in the spring of my sophomore year, I saw a notice announcing tryouts for the tennis team. I went there and found—to my astonishment—that I was one of the best players in the school; not because I was so good, but because so few people in Brooklyn played the sport.

I was not one to pass up on the opportunity to win a varsity letter, however ingloriously achieved. Playing on my parents' guilt and their image of the game as the sport of the elite ("doctors all play tennis"), I persuaded them to invest \$3.50 a week in tennis lessons from the "pro" at a nearby city park, a mailman who picked up extra money by instructing the children of New York's poor, but ambitious civil servants.

There I met a number of kids from similar backgrounds who had fallen into the sport and became part of a tiny, de-

icated subculture of high school tennis players. We practiced together every day, even when it snowed (we shoveled off the courts) and lived, breathed and ate tennis. By my senior year, I was one of the best scholastic players in the city and was ready to play in my first Eastern tournament.

There my dreams of glory received a decisive jolt. As I got off the bus near the club where the tournament took place, I noticed an unusual number of Cadillacs, Lincolns and Buicks pulling into the parking lot. Out stepped elegantly dressed men and women accompanied by teenagers dressed in lush white sweaters and warmup pants and carrying (gasp!) three or four rackets. After overcoming my initial anxiety, I started warming up and found that I was as good a player as all but the top five or six, but I also soon discovered that I would have great difficulty surpassing those who could beat me.

All of the top kids came from wealthy families (or had fathers who were tennis pros) and spent their summers traveling from tournament to tournament along the Eastern seaboard. Many of them took lessons from three or four different pros. There was no way that I could compete with them unless I suddenly inherited a fortune or was adopted by a wealthy patron.

With the hardheaded practicality that was the trademark of my neighborhood, I lowered my aspirations to a realistic level and worked to become a good intercollegiate player and a journeyman performer in the Eastern Men's Division.

►From country club to public park.

A lot has changed since the days when these incidents took place. The focus of the game has shifted from the country club to the public park and the tone of the sport is no longer set entirely by an Eastern WASP elite.

The construction of huge numbers of public courts in California, Florida, and the Southwest, where the game

could be played all year round, laid the basis for the development of hundreds of top players who came from families of more modest means. These individuals, furious at the condescension they experienced on "the tour," have helped force basic changes in the organization of the sport, the most important of which was professionalization. This has given players from working class and lower middle class families an incentive to develop their skills, for top players can now make a living without taking under-the-table payments at cocktail parties.

It's no accident that the dominant American personalities in the sport during the last five years—Jimmy Connors and Billie Jean King—are both from non-elite backgrounds and show it in every aspect of their behavior. They curse, talk to themselves, gesture to the crowds, and play the game with total intensity and abandon. In Brooklyn we used to admiringly call such people "schoolyard ballplayers," but we never imagined that the term could be applied to a tennis player.

►Ironies involved.

There are more than a few ironies in this story. The democratization of tennis has been accompanied, and to some degree encouraged, by an extraordinary effort by the media, and manufacturers of athletic equipment, to "market" the sport.

The attention tennis receives on TV and in the press, the prize money available for good tournament players, and the thousands of jobs as tennis pros available to people with slightly lower skills have made kids from working class and lower middle class backgrounds aware that tennis might be a practical, as well as an enjoyable outlet for their athletic abilities.

Admittedly, the game still has the aura of affluence, though an affluence that is achieved rather than inherited. Equipment is expensive and the dominant TV image of tennis is an attractive young couple in a public park in a middle class

suburb. Many of the young people in urban areas who play the sport, one suspects, are upwardly mobile and realize that this is the sport people play at the computer centers, law offices, insurance agencies, and banks where they hope to work.

But there are other reasons for the new popularity of the sport other than individual ambition and the appeals of "conspicuous consumption." Unlike the major sports played in working class communities—baseball, basketball, football, hockey and softball—tennis can be played at a variety of paces, depending on one's age and physical condition.

In addition, it is a game which men and women can play together with relative ease, even in a sexist society, because there is no body contact and because the difference in skill level between men and women is not that great.

As a consequence, it is a game which tends to unite families across lines of age and sex, which creates a new kind of collective experience different from that of the team sports that are still the dominant athletic experience among young men (and more and more young women).

One should therefore not despair when they see working class kids trying to learn tennis. It does not mean that neighborhood culture is dying, that everybody wants to become an accountant and move to the suburbs. There may be some of that motivation present, but there may also be a deeply-rooted striving for some of the good things in life that the middle class currently monopolizes—one of which are games like tennis that challenge the mind as well as the body, bring men and women together, and help increase the possibility of leading a long and vigorous life.

Mark Naison will write regularly on sports for *In These Times*.

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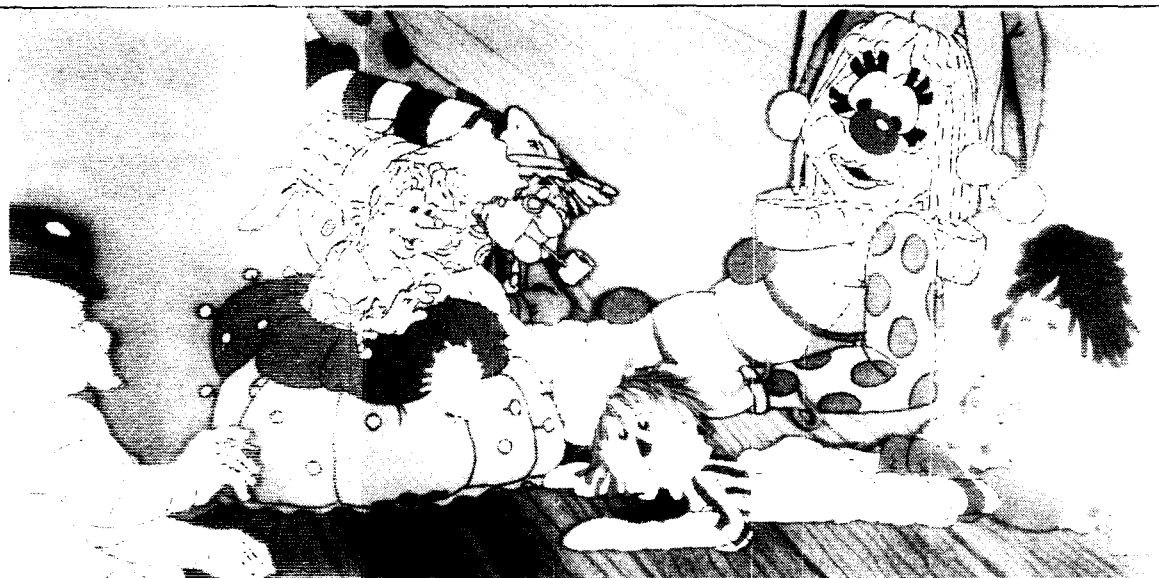
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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



FILM

Animated masterpiece rates a hundred stars

RAGGEDY ANN & ANDY

Screenplay by Patricia Thackray and Max Wilk

Production Supervised and directed by Richard Williams, released by 20th Century-Fox

This starts out like a typical feature-length cartoon, but within minutes it has blossomed into an animated masterpiece and on the musical side, a soaring delight. People actually were singing as they left the theater.

Raggedy Ann, the heroine of the toyroom drama, who makes all the decisions and solves all the problems, has to go on a journey in search of Babette, the new French doll, who has been kidnapped by the pirate. Andy feels it his brotherly duty to go along too.

Each of the main characters (there are at least ten) was done by a different animator—several of them famous as the creators of other cartoon characters. They are all perfect in their own way, but the blue camel with the winky knees, who sees mirages and

sings of unrequited love, steals the show.

Although it's a trifle long for some young viewers, *Raggedy Ann and Andy* is a real must for all who loved and still love the fantasies of their childhood.

—Karen Morrill

I would give it 100 stars.

You probably all know raggedy ann and the other dolls too. But there was a girl who was real. She is six years old. It was neat when the ann doll turned into a cartoon.

Ann had a cute voice. Andy did too. All of them did. The best song was Your my friend. The captain sang that and there was a parrot who sang it too.

My favorite character was the blue camel that wanted a home and someone to love him. He kept seeing a mirage. The saddest part was when the camel was left in the yard. The best part was when he found a home.

The scary part was Mr. Greedy. He was a monster who wanted a sweetheart. King Coo-Coo was a



Photo by Judy Freeman

Above: a scene from *Raggedy Ann and Andy*. *Raggedy Ann* is always in trouble to the consternation of (l-r) Maxi Fix-it, Susie Pincushion, Granda, Socko and Raggedy Ann. Below: reviewer Esme Codell in rag.

midget who wanted to be big. He got me a little dissy.

The penny dolls were very cute.

The popcorn in the theater was delitius.

—Esme Raji Codell

Karen Morrill teaches in an alternative school program in Chicago. Esme Raji Codell is a student in the school and intends to be a sports writer.

MUSIC

Armatrading love songs unabashedly sensual

JOAN ARMATRADING

Joan Armatrading
A&M Records

Joan Armatrading is a black British singer/songwriter whose voice has a unique tone that lets her cross from folk to rock to blues and jazz without sounding affected. Her songs are about love, and her experiences are wide-ranging as well as intimately explored. Her third release, *Joan Armatrading* reveals the powers of an unabashed sensualist.

Armatrading was born in the West Indies, but moved to England when she was eight. There are traces of the islands in her voice, but her music is mainstream pop-folk-rock, its sound undistinguishable from that of other performers working in these genres. Crisp, well-balanced and reminiscent of studio work used to highlight an individual voice, the sound is molded by Glyns John, a producer whose reputation was made by his work with the Rolling Stones.

What distinguishes Armatrading from so many contemporary pop performers (besides her full-bodied voice) is that she is willing to take chances, without worrying about possible damage to a well-guarded persona. Her lyrics deal in pain without self-pity, and this honesty shapes her musical presentation. Refusing to trade in ambiguities, she produces songs of clarity and humor, instead of maudlin despair.

In her cynical self-critique, "Water with the Wine," she sings:

*This man was getting hot.
I got no strength to make him stop.
I guess it's too late,
But I'll know next time
to mix some water with the wine.*

—Joe Heumann.

Joe Heumann teaches media-related subjects at Eastern Illinois University.



Her songs are often about people coupling, but not at the expense of losing their individuality. She sings emotionally of love, but warns against destructive possessiveness.

This, her third album has a range that never loses power. Every song creates a new meaning for those before. Each cut reveals Armatrading's inventiveness and her ability to find the proper musical form for her emotional state. She can make the transitions from "Love and Affection":

*I am not in love
but I'm open to persuasion...
to "Save Me":*

Throw me a lifeline.

Save me...

because all her material is her own invention and she believes in its power.

The studio band (Jerry Donahue, Dave Markee, Dave Matacks and Peter Wood) give Armatrading a solid musical accompaniment for her vision and her voice. *Joan Armatrading* is a continuation of the promise of her first two albums, *Whatever's for Us*, and *Back to the Night*. Her talent and her confidence mark her as a performer whose next work should be as eagerly awaited as this record is enjoyed.

BOOKS

Harrington and Heilbroner on capitalism's sunset

THE TWILIGHT OF CAPITALISM

By Michael Harrington

Simon and Schuster, N.Y., 1976, 445 pp., \$10.95.

BUSINESS CIVILIZATION IN DECLINE

By Robert L. Heilbroner

W.W. Norton & Co., N.Y., 1976, 127 pp., \$6.95.

Michael Harrington has written a good and useful book. It would, however, have been more effective had it been published as the two separate books it contains: *Part I, The New Karl Marx* and *Part II, The Future Karl Marx*. The first presents Harrington's understanding of Marxism, and the second his application of that Marxism to contemporary capitalism, particularly the American welfare state.

The attempt to fuse the two parts under the conceit of a "New" and a "Future" Karl Marx doesn't quite come off; the first part is too intricate and detailed for the general reader, while the second part is too narrow in scope to show that capitalism is finally in the twilight

zone.

Despite these reservations, the book does show to Harrington's satisfaction, and mine, that capitalism's irreversible decline is a result of its structure and contradictions as analyzed by Marx some 100 years ago.

Essentially, the first part consists of removing from Marxism the encrustations of economic determinism, immiseration of the working class, social engineering and similar vulgarizations. In the process Harrington confronts the major critiques of Marx—Bohm-Bawerk, Bell, Marcuse, Althusser and so on. Too scholastic for the general reader this section is excellent for the committed student and very useful at this time as more and more students are turning to Marxism.

I had two negative reactions. First, Harrington writes as if he were the only true restorer of the original Marx and as if every Communist thinker in the last 50 years was a falsifier of Marxist thought.

It is true that the Stalinist era

produced, in general, a stultification of Marxist theory. But even leaving Gramsci aside, there were considerable areas of thought in official Communists that remained fresh and stimulating. This reviewer came to Marxism some 40 years ago under the tutelage of R. Palme Dutt and Maurice Dobb. I do not find that my understanding of Marx is so vastly different from that of Harrington as to vitiate my past studies.

Second, there are echoes of past polemics that strike me as unseemly. For example, while accepting Paul Sweezy (an editor of the journal *Monthly Review*) as a serious Marxist scholar, Harrington adds that Sweezy was a "critical supporter" of Russian Communism, giving "at least an apologetic cast" to his analyses. This is snide and unfair. Sweezy was a steadfast critic of Stalin's Marxism even while he supported the Soviet Union as a historic development that should be defended against imperialist attack. (Trotsky, incidentally, took the same position. When

the USSR was invaded, Trotsky split his movement by maintaining that despite all distortions the USSR was still a workers' state that had to be defended against fascism.)

In Part II, Harrington concentrates on showing that Marxist categories still apply to the inner processes of capitalism. This narrows his critique so that he doesn't show adequately the impact of the end of colonialism and the rise of socialist states on the world system of imperialism-capitalism. In the same manner, he doesn't deal sufficiently with the way the political, social and cultural structure of American society are shaken as capitalism declines in power and influence.

What he does do well, however, is to show that despite all reforms the welfare state is squarely within the parameters of capitalism. He demolishes Daniel Bell's thesis that "the long-run historical trend in Western society" is "the move away from governance by political eco-

nomy to governance by political philosophy...a turn to non-capitalist modes of thought." That is to say, that the profit system is no longer the controlling influence in our society, but rather that "the political order necessarily becomes the control system."

This theory also happens to be Heilbroner's argument in his book, *Business Civilization in Decline*, an aeneic euphemism for the twilight of capitalism.

Heilbroner has written some good books, but this is not one of them. In fact, it is hardly a book, but a potpourri of published articles, some of them slightly revised, which, at \$6.95 for 127 pages is something of a rip-off. The potpourri is badly flawed: what is true is not new and what is new is highly debatable. Heilbroner keeps harping on the obvious—the trend to state capitalism—without considering that its consequence, if unchecked, is some kind of plain, old-fashioned fascism.

—Carl Marzani

BOOKS

Love and polygamy in Lagos

THE BRIDE PRICE

By Buchi Emecheta

George Braziller, New York, 1976, \$6.95.

This is Buchi Emecheta's second novel, and it is not just an exciting love story, but a rich, fascinating and authentic study of western Igbo culture, life and society.

The author is a London University-trained sociologist, with a good command of the English language and a deep understanding of the perception of an Igbo mother. She draws on all these sources to paint a vivid picture of the two worlds and two value systems that so many Africans grapple with because of the disruptive influence of Western culture on African life.

Ezekiel Ochia, a veteran of World War II, and his wife, Nne Blackie, came to live in Lagos after the war. Most of the Igbos who work with the Nigerian Railway Corporation live in that area, and Ezekiel was compensated for his military service in Burma and India with a low-paid railway job. He and Nne continue in their traditional ways, but their two children know little of the old culture. Then Ezekiel's sudden death forces Nne, her daughter and young son to move back to Iboza, the home village, some 360 miles west of Lagos, where she is inherited by Ezekiel's brother under the law of widow inheritance in Igboland, as his fourth wife.

Aku-nna, the daughter, makes an effort to adjust to tribal life, but she falls in love with her instructor, Chike, who is unacceptable by her family's standards. Emecheta weaves into this love story aspects of birth, death, marriage and sex that form the culture of the Igbo people. She describes the intricate social life of the village, the law and customs, missionary activities and misinterpretations (including the rivalries of the missionary sects), the patterns of recreational activity for boys and girls, the customary sex life of the young and the old, the strictness and the permissiveness in the rearing of children, and the custom of kidnapping young maidens for wives.

The theme of the book is the socio-psychological importance of the payment of the bride price. The consequences of non-payment and the reasons for non-acceptance are all embodied in this single story.

There are interesting illuminations of polygamous marriage, as for example the sociological reasons for the influence of the ranking senior wife and for her pride in that position. Mgbeke, the ranking wife of Ezekiel's brother and Nne Blackie's co-wife, has told her own children: "I am the woman who taught your father what a woman tastes like. I disvirgined your father and he disvirgined me, and I gave birth to you... and if he becomes Obi (head of the clan) today, it is me he will take to the Udo (the clan's holy shrine) with him. It is me that is going to wear the string

...a vivid picture of the two worlds and the two and two value systems that so many Africans grapple with because of the disruptive influence of Western culture on African life...

anklets" that are the regalia of the first lady of the clan.

There are some jumbings of time in this otherwise very accurate description of life and society in parts of Nigeria. For example, although the sensitivity to domestic slaves was acute in the early part of this century, as Emecheta shows it to be, it can hardly have continued even in Iboza at the time (the late '50s) when Chike elopes with Aku-nna. The author should have been more explicit in explaining whether Chike is an Oshu (domestic slave) or an osu (a cult slave)—a much more degrading status in Igbo society, which neither education nor Christianity nor legislative mea-

sures attempted by the Eastern Nigerian government in 1956 could obliterate.

But these are minor points. *The Bride Price* is an excellent description of the socio-psychological problems that confront African young people as they move from the city back into the rural villages, an important addition to the study of anthropology and sociology in Africa, one more in the growing list of good novels on Igbo life.

—Chris C. Mojekwu

Chris C. Mojekwu was from 1946 to 1966 minister of Justice of the eastern region of Nigeria. He is presently in the Department of Politics at Lake Forest College.



Novelist Buchi Emecheta

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Film on Islam's message lacks historical context

MOHAMMAD—MESSENGER OF GOD

Produced and directed by Moustapha Akkad
Starring Anthony Quinn and Irene Papas
Released by Tarik Film Distributors,
rated PG

After 1400 years of bad publicity in the western world, a full-length motion picture attempting to give a sympathetic interpretation to the birth of Islam and the life of its prophet has finally arrived on the American screen.

The film is called *Mohammed—Messenger of God* and is the story of the birth of Islam in Mecca in the 7th century, c.e. (Christian era). Unfortunately, the film fails in several respects to give a compelling rendering of Islam's teacher and beginnings. Because the film's makers do not seem to have been guided by a proper historical and cultural analysis, they are not able to convey the differences between that historical period and today, nor to interpret cultural differences between the values of traditional Islamic religion and those of the film audience.

► Arabic vs. American slavery.

For example, all slaves in this film have dark skin and African features. The filmmakers thus contribute to the myth that blacks are historically the world's slaves. There certainly were slaves in 7th century Arabia, but they were not all black. Also there is a world of difference between Arabian slavery, based on a pre-capitalist way of life with extensive mercantile relationships and slavery in the Americas in the 16th to 19th centuries, which was based on racism and developed as an integral part of capitalist production.

The film begins in 610/611, c.e., when Mohammad receives his first revelation. He is 40 years old, a member of the Quraysh tribe, which controls the holy city of Mecca. The various Arabian tribes of this period contract themselves as private armies to protect the caravan routes of the three great empires—Rome, Byzantium and Persia—which cross the Arabian peninsula from east to west and north to south. Theirs is a culture based on a desert economy, with a highly developed poetic, oral tradition, a pantheon of over 300 idols and a strict tribal code of ethics.

► The message heard by the oppressed.

When Mohammad begins to speak about the worship of one God, the redistribution of wealth, a way of life free from drunkenness, cruelty and superstition, he attracts few believers at first. But a small band—made up of young men, women and slaves: the oppressed of all hues—begins to meet in secret to discuss these new ideas.

As Mohammad's followers grow in number, the powerful merchant class of Mecca begins to organize opposition. The Muslims are mobbed, stoned, tortured and killed. A boycott is organized against them, and the section of Mecca they occupy is sealed off so that no one can communicate or trade with them. Finally the assassination of Mohammad is planned.

► The flight to Medina.

When the assassination party arrives, Mohammad is gone. He has fled to Medina where his message is welcome and the inhabitants will defend him, by force if necessary. In Medina, Mohammad sets up the first Islamic town government with organs of economic, social and religious power. The Meccans send a punitive force against the Muslims. Mohammad goes to meet them in the desert, and by filling all the wells but one, forces his enemy to fight for water on grounds advantageous to his forces. Although they are outnumbered three to one, the Muslims outfight the Meccans by performing with discipline under a unified command.

Not long afterwards there is another great battle, this time at Uhud Hill only three miles from Medina, in which Hamza, Mohammad's uncle, is slain. After this hostilities are discontinued for three years. Then the Muslims, who want to make a spring pilgrimage to Mecca, are refused entry and negotiate a treaty at the great well and tree of Hudaibiya. The Meccans sign, but break the truce. Mohammad leads his now-superior force against the disorganized and fearful merchants

and takes the holy city without bloodshed.

He enters the shrine of the Ka'ba and personally supervises the destruction of its idols. "Truth has come and falsehood must perish." Two years later Mohammad dies.

► Message would overthrow exploiters

Why is Mohammad's message so controversial? The film's answer is inadequate. When the young men of the Quraysh stand up on the side of Mohammad, it is hard to understand why. Historically, they acted against the oppressive effects of developing Arab feudalism and in favor of the creation of an independent Arab state. (Bilal, the Ethiopian slave, stands up for an Arabia free of indentured servitude.)

Mohammad was a well-balanced man, a thinker, a communicator and a doer: as much a man of politics as he was a spiritual leader. His message, if carried forward, would unite

the Arabian peninsula. This was not in the interest of its ruling class, for a united Arabia would mean a change in social relationships and the certain overthrow of the exploiters. But in the film, the Islamic message is presented as separate and apart from the social struggles of the time—in abstraction—as if the heavenly kingdom were separate and apart from the earthly one.

► Mohammad missing from the screen.

We never see Mohammad, the Messenger of God. A statement is made at the start of the film that the prophet is not shown, out of respect for Islamic tradition. But the filmmakers had other choices: they could have conceived him as a spiritual force working behind the scenes, in which case the spirit of his message, rather than his actual presence, would have moved the other characters. Or they could have conceived and presented him as a charismatic figure whose commanding presen-

ce moves the others. Instead, they took a middle road: we see Mohammad reflected in the faces of others; they talk to him, but we hear only weird music, not his voice.

The tradition of Islam is not to show the prophet because he is simply a man, not an object of worship. To have him in the film but unseen tends to produce the opposite impression. In addition, three other important characters—Khadija, Mohammad's wife, and his close companions, Abu-Bakar and Umar (who succeeded him as Kalif of Islam) are never shown although they participated historically in actions that are shown in the film.

Mohammad—Messenger of God will serve as cause for important discussions on the problems of Islam in the modern era.

—Joel and Khadijah Muhammad

Joel and Khadijah Muhammad are a freelance writing team, living in New York and active in the Afro-American Islamic wing of the black liberation movement.



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The Making of Mohammad, Messenger of God



Star Anthony Quinn (left) with director Moustapha Akkad (right)
Star Irene Papas as Hind (at right).

"If they want to see the film, I'll show it to them. I think it will make them change their minds. If they, as true Moslems, find anything offensive, I'm willing to destroy the film.... I'll burn it."

That was the public offer made by Moustapha Akkad, director/producer of *Mohammad—Messenger of God* to the Hanafi Muslims holding hostages in Washington, D.C., in response to their demand that the film be withdrawn because it was insulting to their religion.

Akkad, himself a devout Moslem, is entirely responsible for the film, from the initial idea, through the raising of the \$17-18 million budget, to its successful completion despite innumerable difficulties and at least one major catastrophe. Now in his 40s, Akkad was born and educated in Damascus and came to California to study filmmaking and later to work—most of the time for CBS News, but on at least one major feature film under director Sam Peckinpah.

His main motivation for the undertaking was, he says, religious. In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* in November 1974 Akkad spoke of feeling that "people were misinformed about the essence of Islam.... This film is not intended to be the life of Mohammad, you realize. This is the ... life story of Islam as a social revolution. If people would only follow the teachings of this religion, there would never be any need for revolution.

"Islam is a very tolerant religion. It deals more with everyday life than any of the other major

religions.... Islam freed women. Why, women even led armies then! The veil came from a Babylonian tradition. It was not imposed by Islam. And social justice. Islam teaches that you have a right to call on a neighbor if you really need to. You are really responsible for your brother.

"Our point of view is very religious, very pious, very human and very ethical."

Partly because he intended the film to deal with the "nature" of Islam's prophet, but not with his life *per se*, and partly because there was a resistance in some orthodox Moslem circles to showing Mohammad on the screen (if not to making the film at all), Akkad and his screenwriter, H.A.L. Craig, decided to use the "first-person camera" (a device often used in films dealing with Christ)—the hope being that the absence of Mohammad as an active protagonist would not only quiet orthodox objections, but also emphasize the broader aspects of the conflict.

Craig, whose film credits include other "epics," soaked him-

self in Islamic history and religious literature and turned out a draft screenplay that was submitted to the prospective financial backers: the governments of Kuwait, Morocco and Libya, and a private consortium of Middle Eastern financiers. A committee of Islamic scholars from Al Azhar University (Cairo) was appointed to go over the script, page by page, working with Craig until all objections were met. It took months, but eventually a shooting script was approved, and the financing was assured.

King Hassan of Morocco, one of the film's backers, became the company's official host, and production headquarters were set up in Marrakesh in early 1974.

Akkad had by this time hired a production team consisting mainly of non-Arab heads of departments, working with and training Arab technicians in their specialized fields. For example, the recreation of 7th century Mecca, researched in detail by production designer Tambi Larsen, was accomplished by "re-

modeling" a small desert village near Marrakesh. The actual construction was done by a small crew of British carpenters, working with local artisans, who soon picked up the skills involved.

Two entire casts were assembled: one using English-speaking actors of many nationalities (American Anthony Quinn, Greek Irene Papas, Senegalese Johnny Sekka, and others) for the English-language version; and a cast of leading Arab actors for the version aimed at the world-wide Moslem audience. (There was an interesting language question here. Although the Arabic spoken today in different countries and even different regions of one country varies too greatly for easy understanding by outsiders, the classical language used in the film is understood by all Arab audiences.)

Principal photography began on April 15, 1974, and continued—despite Saharan temperatures and a broken air-conditioning system in the company's headquarters—into July. From the

start there were rumors that pressure was being exerted on King Hassan to rescind his invitation. Stories appeared in the Arab press to the effect that an infidel—in some reports, Peter O'Toole (who was not in any way involved), and in others, Anthony Quinn—was playing the role of the prophet. And there were complaints that the reconstructed Mecca in Ait Bouchent would draw pilgrims away from the real Mecca.

But there was no overt opposition. No violence of any kind. And no hostility from the villagers most closely in contact with the enterprise.

The company worked as fast as possible, under the gun of time, knowing that if filming in the giant outdoor setting, built at such cost, was not complete before King Hassan capitulated to whatever political pressure was being brought to bear, it would be almost impossible to complete the film.

On July 31, 1974, the blow fell. Two colonels from the Moroccan security force drove out to Ait Bouchent with the news that the company would have to pack up and leave Morocco.

Akkad had about one hour of edited film to show for his years of planning and months of intensive shooting—that and his faith that "it was the will of God that we continue." He showed the film to one of the other original backers—Colonel Khadafi of Libya—and in a short time the company was invited to Tripoli to complete the shooting of the film.

The two casts, the technical crews, cameras and sound equipment, props, wardrobe, vehicles and horses (specially trained for the battle sequences) had to be moved. The people could go by air, but most of the equipment had to go by land from Marrakesh to Tangiers, thence by sea through the Straits of Gibraltar. The horses were shipped by rail from Marrakesh to Algeria, through Tunisia and on to Libya—a distance of 2,200 miles.

There were, however, no facilities in Tripoli for making a major film. An abandoned tobacco warehouse was turned into a studio for filming interior scenes. But weather was not good enough for key battle scenes, so a second unit had to be dispatched to a desert community hundreds of miles to the south. Eventually the whole outfit was moved from Tripoli to the tiny town of Sebha by cargo planes from the Libyan Air Force. What amounted to a temporary city was set up for the accommodation of the company, and the Libyan army supplied nearly 5,000 soldiers for the battle scenes.

The film Akkad had first conceived in 1964 was ten years in the making. It took another three years to bring it to the screens of the U.S. It opened in Los Angeles and New York in early March and played to good houses, was closed down during the ordeal of the Hanafis' hostages, and reopened after their release. Despite press rumors of impending picket lines, there has been no boycott of the film, and it is doing well in cities with sizeable Muslim populations. A review appears on page 23 of this issue.

—Janet Stevenson

